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BIAFRA - NIGERIA

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# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Classification

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: Amembassy LONDON PARIS US MISSION GENEVA

USUN

CINCSTRIKE Amconsul IBADAN KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria Press Summary - Jan 31

1. Only Nigeria piece this morning is Wash Post AP report Lagos headed three Biafrans executed as assassins. A Nigerian army firing squad executed three Ibo tribesmen in public in Enugu for trying assassinate commander army's first division, army spokesman said Thursday. He said trio packaged bomb, addressed it to Col. Mohammed Shuwa, gave it to Ibo watchman at Shuwa's headquarters. Spokesman said package opened at a checkpoint and bomb detonated killing two soldiers, wounding two policemen. Several hundred persons witnessed shooting of three men Monday. Spokesman said assassins had travelled Enugu disguised as refugees from Umuahia. Eyewitnesses said Shuwa told crowd at execution army would get tougher with civilians in Enugu, which feds occupied Oct 5, 1967. It was second report from Enugu of public execution at army headquarters there. Reuters reported Port Harcourt airport, closed since May 1968 capture, has been opened civilian traffic according FMG officials.

2. Reuters ticker datelined Benin Jan 31 reports Biafran planes staged air raid on Benin last night, killing four persons and wounding ten others

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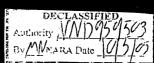
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classification approved by Nigeria Task Force: RMMelbourne

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FORM DS-322



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Classification

ACTION: Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

according reliable but unofficial sources. Observers assumed raid was aimed at Benin airport from which fighter aircraft take off to attack supply planes flying into Uli, but bombs apparently landed south of city. Govt sources Lagos confirmed there was QTE unusual activity UNQTE in area last night but would not say what it was. Persons in area said they heard heavy antiaircraft fire during night. Bombs exploded on Benin-Sapele road. Raid is first by Biafrans on fed territory in several months.

END

ROGERS

Drafted by:

classification approved by:

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### POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA Department of State TFIEGRAM

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PAGE 01 ABIDUA 00288 0308312

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ACTION: AF: 18

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10

P: 04.RSC: 01.SP 02.SS 20.USIA 12.10: 13.SAH: 02.AID 28.SR 01.ORM 03.

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R: 311525Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3569 INFO RUOSDA/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 135 AMEMBASSY COTONOU AMEMBASSY KINSHASA AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE AMEMBASSY LAGOS AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY NIAMEY AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

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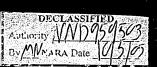
SUBUS HOUPHOUET STATEMENT ON BIAFRA

TO POCT S SEMI-OFFICIAL DAILY FRATERNITE-MATINA COMMENTING TODAY ON OCAM SE KINSHASA MEETING, SAYS THAT OCAM SEEMS TO BE MAKING A LITTLE MORE PROGRESS ON THE NIGERIAN BIAFRAN PROBLEM THAN DAU HAS UP TO NOW. WITHOUT PROPOSING A RIGID SOLUTION TO SETTLE THE CONFLICT OR PRESSURING ANYONE, HOUPHOUET IN OVER TWO-HOUR STATE-MENT TO OTHER OCAM CHIEFS ASKED OCAM TO TAKE INITIATIVE WITHOUT DELAY TO BRING NIGERIAN AND BIAFRAN ADVERSARIES TO NEGOTIATING TABLE

2. COMMENTARY NOTES THAT HOUPHOUET'S APPEAL SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN HEARD SINCE THERE IS INCREASING TALK OF A (PEACE) OFFENSIVE INVOLVING AN APPROACH BY NIGER AND DAHOMEY TO THE FMG AND BY GABON AND CAMEROON TO OJUKWU. PAPER SEES PARTICIPATION OF DAHOMEY AS PARTICULARLY HAPPY CHOICE SINCE IT HAS AGREED TO SERVE AS CHARITY BRIDGEHEAD AT VERY MOMENT WHEN LEADERS OF

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# Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE: 02 ABIDJA 00288 030831Z

FMG AND BIAFRA ARE EXPRESSING WILL! TO BRING FRATRICIDAL WAR TO AN END.

STRATEGY TO FIGHT AGAINST ARMS SHIPMENTS TO BOTH SIDES AND CONVINCE UK AND SOVIETS THIS PART OF AFRICAN CONTINENT WANTS BREAD AND CLOTHING INSTEAD OF CANNONS. MORGAN

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ByMMARA Date VD905



# POLST BIAFRA-NIGERIA Department of State TELEGRAM TR POL 3 OAU

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 00407 011059Z

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PI 311530Z JAN: 69

FM: AMEMBASSY ADDIS: ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8287

INFO: AMCONSUL! ASMARA

USMISSION: GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS:

AMEMBASSY LONDON:

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

USUNINEW YORK: 481

CLOUNE FLI DIEINIT I A LI ADDIS ABABA, 407

SUBUINIGERIA: CONVERSATION WITH DIALLO TELLI

HERENIARS SI ES

I. INI CONVERSATION: THIS: NOON: WITH! DCM. OAU: ADMIN SECGENDALLO: TELLI SAID! HELEXPECTED! SIDE! MEETING! OF: FONMINS:
OF: CONCOMM: COUNTRIES: TAKE! PLACE! DURING: OAU: MINISTERIAL!
COUNCIL: MEETING: BEGINNING: FEBRUARY 17 IN: ADDIS: NO! INDICA!
TION! THAT SPECIFIC: PROPOSALS: NOW! IN: MIND: TELLI IMPLIED: SIMPLY
REFLECTED: OAU! FEELING! OF! NEED! AGAIN. SHOW ACTIVITY ON NIGERIA.

2. COMMENT: COMM APPEARS: UNLIKELY AGREE CONVENE PER:
LIBERIAN PROPOSAL! (ADDIS: 335) DURING TWO WEEKSOR: SO BETWEEN
NOW AND OPENING OF DAU! MINISTERIALD ALTHOUGH LIBERIAN AMB)
COX STILL! PUSHING NEED FOR CONVOCATION CONCOMM IN WEST AFRICAN
SETTING. MOFA AFRICAN AFFAIRS: ASST MIN MENGISTE DESTA TOLD
EMBOFF! TODAY LIBERIAN SUGGESTION STILL! FORMALLY GTE UNDER! CONEMBOFF! TODAY LIBERIAN SUGGESTION STILL! FORMALLY GTE UNDER! CONSIDERATION AND CONSULTATION UNQUITE BUT IEG DID NOT EXPECT ANYTHING
WOULD CRYSTALLIZE AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER! DAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
MEETING.

3. TELLI ALSO MENTIONEDI CONCERN EXPRESSEDI TOI HIM BY NUMBEROF AFRICAN REPS: REI POSSIBILITY CHANGEI DIRECTIONI US POLICY ININIGERIA.

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Authority WN 0959503 By MMARA Date 0565



# Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02: ADDIS 00407 011059Z

TELLI MENTIONEDI INTER ALTA ROLE PALYED BY STATEMENTS SEN KENNEDY, GTEL WHOSE NAME STILL CARRIES WEIGHT IN AFRICA UNGTE, CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTIONS, CONGRESSIONAL VISITS TO BIAFRA, AND GTE VISIT BY CONGRESSIONAL TO HIM UNGTE. DOM DESCRIBED CONTINUITY US: POLICY AND AGAIN EXPLAINED BACKGROUND OUR HUMANITARIAN INTEREST. WE HAVE PROVIDED TEXT CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTIONS (WHICH TELLT HAD NOT READ) AND OTHER MATERIAL.

4. TELLI EXPRESSED! INTEREST IN TALKING WITH DEPT ASST SECHWESTER FIELDI DURING LATTER'S VISIT ADDIS FOR ECA MEETING NEXT WEEK! MR. WESTERFIELD MAY FIND THIS USEFUL! OPPORTUNITY GIVE REASSURANCES: TELLI MALL!

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 00638 312059Z

ACTION AF: 18

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P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 1099 W 045550

P. R. 311210Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 189 INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOUL AMEMBASSY DAKARI AMEMBASSY LAGOS SEICERENT KINSHASA 619

SUBJECT: 00

SUBJECT: OCAM AND NIGERIAN PROBLEM

NIEGERIAN CHARGE HAD CONVERSATION IN YORUBA WITH DAHOMEY PRESIDENT ZINZOU! FRIDAY MORNING IN THE KINSHASA AIRPORT VIP LOUNGE. MY NIGERIANI COLLEAGUE! GAVE ME! FOLLOWING REPORT SHORTLY AFTERWARD

2. OCAM SUMMIT DISCUSSEDI NIGERIANI SITUATIONI IN DEPTH. BUT DECIDED AGAINST FORMALI RESOLUTION ON SUBJECT AS USELESS EXERCISE UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. HENCE THERE WAS ONLY GENERAL EXPRESSION OF HOPE FOR EARLY PEACELAS: REPORTED REFTELL

3. OCAM HEADS OF STATE, HOWEVER, FELT THAT QUIET INITIATIVE SHOULD BE TAKEN. THEY AGREED IN PRINCIPLE, ON SENGHOR'S FORMULA FOR CEASE, FIRE TO BE FOLLOWED BY NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF NIGERIAN UNITY. TO SATISFY ANTI-SECESSIONISTS LIKE MOBUTU, THEY AGREED THAT NO ATTEMPT WOULD BE MADE TO SEND DELEGATION

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PAGE 02 KINSHA 00638 312059Z

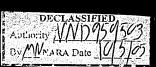
TO SEEK OUUKWU'S AGREEMENT TO THIS FORMULA WITHOUT PRIOR APPROVAL OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. HENCE, WHOLE IDEA MUST FIRST HAVE GOWON'S OK

4. ZINZOU AND SENGHOR LEFT KINSHASA, FRIDAY MORNING FOR YAOUNDE WITH OBJECTIVE OF CONVINCING AHIDJO TO JOIN IN A DEMARCHE TO GOWON. WE UNDERSTAND THEY PLANNING SPEND FRIDAY NIGHT IN YAOUNDE.

5% TSIRINANA WAS ASKED TO SOUND OUT THE FRENCH ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE BIAFRANS IN SUPPORT OF SENGHOR'S FORMULA.

6. NIGERIAN: CHARGE: REPORTED: THAT ZINZOU EXPRESSED: NEITHER OPTIMISM NOR PESSIMISM ABOUT CHANCE OF SUCCESS. HE MERELY SAID: IT CANNOT HURT: TO TRY. COHEN

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SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. POL 50-10

DATE: 1/30/65 MSG NO.: A-6	66 TYPE: AI
FROM: <u>Lagos</u> TO	o: State
PATE: 1/30/67 MSG NO.: A-6 FROM: Lagos TO SUBJECT: Buitsl Report on Vi-	garian Relief
DOCUMENT ORIGINATOR: DEPT. OF STA	ATE:OTHER:
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CONTAINS NATIONAL	SECURITY INFORMATION
OTHER LAW OR REGU	LATION

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RI 301623Z. JANI 69 FM: AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO: SECSTATE: WASHDC: 8535

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EXDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: VIEWS OF EX-PRESIDENT AZIKIE

C. EMBOFF RECENTLY HAD OCCASION FOR PRIVATE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON NIGERIAN CONFLICT WITH FORMER PRESIDENT NAME IN SMALL AZIKIWE WHO IS CURRENTLY LIVING UNOBTRUSIVELY IN EXILE IN SMALL HOTEL IN HAMPSTEAD. DR. AZIKIWE REALIZED IN SPEAKING TO EMBOFF THAT HIS VIEWS WOULD BE REPORTED TO INTERESTED AGENCIES. IN WASHINGTON. HE WELCOMED THIS OPPORTUNITY. BUT REQUESTED THAT WE HOLD INFO CLOSELY AT LEAST UNTIL HE HAS DECIDED WHETHER HELWISHES. TO ADOPT MORE! PUBLIC STAND ON NIGERIAN DEVELOPMENTS.

2. AZIKIWE IS DEEPLY PESSIMISTIC ABOUT ABILITY OF NIGERIANS AND BIAFRANS TO RESOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS, WHETHER BY NEGOTIATION OR BY FORCE OF ARMS. HE BELIEVES OUTSIDE INTER-VENTION OR BY FORCE OF ARMS. HE BELIEVES OUTSIDE INTER-VENTION AMERICAN INTENTIONS, HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE US TAKE INITIATIVE IN BRINGING ABOUT PEACE TAKES. HE REALIZES THAT NEITHER US NOR ANYONE ELSE CAN IMPOSE LASTING SETTLEMENT. WITHOUT CONSENT AND COOPERATION OF BOTH SIDES CONFLICT WILL CONTINUE. HE BELIEVES THAT NIGERIANS AND BIAFRANS MAY BE APPROACHING POINT AT WHICH THEY WOULD WELCOME HONORABLE WAY OUT OF THEIR DIFFICULTIES. DESPITE BELLIGERENT TALK FROM BOTH SIDES, HE SENSES WAR-WEARINESS: IN UMUAHIA AND LAGOS AND THINKS WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ACT AT RIGHT MOMENT.

3. IN ZIK'S OPINION ACTION SHOULD BE TO TAKE NIGERIAN CON-PLICT TO SECURITY COUNCIL HE REASONS THAT DAU HAS DIS-QUALIFIED ITSELF IN EYES OF BIAFRANS BY OVERWHELMING SUPPORT GIVEN, TO EMG: AT ALGTERS MEETING. COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

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4일 이 수물하면요 하는 것 없고 12일이라고 한다.

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PAGE: 02: LONDON 00793 301730Z

HAS: TRIEDI AND FAILED TO BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS THEMSELVES: ACCOMPLISHED NOTHING WITH REGARD TO NIGERIA AT RECENT CONFERENCE OF PRIME MINISTERS THIS LEAVES UNITED NATIONS COMPOSITION OF SECURITY COUNCIL IS: IDEALLY BALANCED THIS YEAR AMONG PERMANENT MEMBERS USSRIAND UK! SUPPORT FMG AND FRANCE SUPPORTS BIAFRA AMONG AFRICAN MEMBERS ZAMBIA RECONGIZES BIAFRA ALGERIA IS STRONG SUPPORTER OF LAGOS AND SENEGAL IS RELATIVELY NEUTRAL.

- 4. ZIK BELIEVES: SECURITY COUNCIL SHOULD BELASKED (A) TO CALL ON ALL UNI MEMBERS, TO IMPOSE EMBARGO ON ARMS: SHIPMENTS TO BOTH SIDES (B) THROUGH SYG, TO PERSUADE THEM TO ACCEPT GENERALI CEASE-FIRE, AFITER WHICH FEDERALI FORCES WOULD BE REQUESTED TO LIFT BLOCKADE OF BIAFRA; (C) TO INTRODUCE INTER-NATIONALL PEACE FORCE: ON BOTH SIDES OF BATTLEL INES: AND (D) TO USE SYG, S. GOOD OFFICES TO GET TWO SIDES SEATED AT CONFERENCE TABLES ZIK FURTHER BELIEVES. THAT ONLY US HAS PRESTIGE AND GOOD WILL ENOUGH TO BRING THIS PROPOSAL! TO SC WITH ANY HOPE OF SUCCESS.
- 5% EMBOFFI THANKED AZIKIWE FOR CONFIDING HIS VIEWS AND SAID
  HE WOULD REPORT THEM TO WASHINGTON SPEAKING PERSONALLY.
  HE COULD SEE NUMBER OF POINTS IN PLAN THAT WOULD NEED FURTHER
  THOUGHT AND CLARIFICATION. IN FIRST PLACE, HE DOUBTED THAT
  AND NON-AFRICAN STATE WOULD WISH TO TAKE NIGERIAN CONFLICT
  TO UNI IN FACE OF OAU RESOLUTION TELLING THEM NOT TO MEDDLE.
  IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NIGERIAS AS ZIK HIMSELF HAD STATED,
  THREE AFRICAN COUNTRIES WERE MEMBERS OF SC AND IT WOULD ILL.
  BEHOOVE US OR ANY OTHER NON-AFRICAN COUNTRY TO ARROGATE RESULTHANT HAD MADE CLEAR THAT HE COULD NOT ACT AGAINST EXPRESSED.
  WISHES OF FMG AND OAUS IT SEEMED EVIDENT THAT IF QUESTION
  WAS BROUGHT TO SC IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES SOVIET UNION WOULD
  USE VETO TO PREVENT ANY ACTION UNACCEPTABLE TO NIGERIANS.
- 6. ZIK: ADMITTED FORCE OF THES ARGUMENTS. HE WONDERED WHETHER FMG.S: OBJECTIONS TO: UN ACTION COULD BE SOFTENED BY PRELIMINARY DIPLOMACY. EMBOFF EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT RESOLUTION OUTLINED BY ZIK: OFFERED! MUCH TO: FMG. NIGERIANS WOULD CERTAINLY REGARD UN CALL! FOR ARMS EMBARGO AND CEASE FIRE AS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE. ZIK: SAID HE: INTENDED! TO DO: FURTHER WORK! ON PROPOSALS AND WOULD TAKE! THESE POINTS INTO CONSIDERATION. HE! CONTINUED! TO BELIEVE! THAT SOME FORM OF UN INTERES.

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VENTION WAS NECESSARY TO HALT FIGHTING, AND THAT US WAS ONLY STATE POWERFUL ENOUGH TO GET UN TO ACT.

7. AT CLOSE: OF CONVERSATION: ZIK SAID HE WAS: THINKING ABOUT MAKING HIS PROPOSALS PUBLIC WHEN HE WAS SATISFIED WITH THEM. HE MIGHT EVEN HAVE THEM PUBLISHED IN NEWSPAPER OR PERIODICAL. THIS: WAS UNLIKELY TO OCCUR BEFORE TWO OR THREE WEEKS. BRUCE

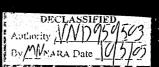
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AGR COM FRB	FROM : Amconsul KADUNA DATE: January 30, 1969
INT LAB TAR	SUBJECT: North-Central State Commissioner's Comment on U.S. Nigeria Policy
TR XMB AIR  ST  ARMY CIA NAVY	REF : Kaduna 37
3 20 5 OSD USIA NSA 34 10 3	JOINT STATE/USIS MESSAGE
34 10 3 Nsc	Enclosed is a Memorandum of Conversation between the Commissioner of Information, North-Central State, Mallam Sani Zangon Daura, the Principal Officer, and the Branch Public
JAN 3MN Pili 11431 43 COPYFLO-PORT-FRE	Affairs Officer. The conversation, which took place at the Consulate, sprang from an appointment made by Mallam Sani three days earlier. Mallam Sani expressed his grave concern and that of the people of Nigeria over the U.S.G. decision to make eight stratofreighter planes available for carrying relief supplies to Biafra. He condemned the United States for taking this "new" position vis-a-vis the Nigerian civil war and expressed the fear that relief aid to the rebels will prolong the war. Unless the war is successfully concluded in favor of the FMG, he added, he believes Nigeria will split into warring fragments and that a move towards further balkanization of Africa will have been made. Mallam Sani dwelt on the restraint of the FMG and Major General Gowon's efforts to avoid war and subsequently to try to negotiate a settlement. He said that there is a great sympathy for the Russians in Nigeria today.
COPYFLO	The Principal Officer followed with a clarification of the U.S. stand vis-a-vis Nigeria and the FMG and assured Mallam Sani that the aims of the United States with respect to the eight stratofreighters are purely humanitarian and that they represent a response to the demands of U.S. public opinion to do something to alleviate the suffering of the war victims  Decontrolled following January 17, 1974.  LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  FOR DEPT. USE ONLY
Drafted by:	FORM DS-323 Contents and Classification Approved by:
	BAStokes:ncm 1-23-69 Birney A. Stokes

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Kaduna A-06

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and to try to avoid the possible death by starvation of thousands of people in the war areas in Nigeria. It was also pointed out that the planes were made available with the proviso that workable inspection procedures would be instituted before the planes were placed in operation.

Mallam Sani said that, although he had discussed the subject of United States policy on Nigeria with the Military Governor on many occasions, he had come in this instance on his own initiative and not at the behest of the Military Governor. As he was leaving, Mallam Sani reiterated his desire to visit the United States as he had the U.K. last month. He also said he had put off Mallam Ibrahim Nock's offer to arrange a visit to the Soviet Union in the hope that he could first arrange a trip to America.

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Enclosure:

Memorandum of Conversation

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Page 1 of 4 Encl. No. 1 Kaduna A-06

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#### Memorandum of Conversation

SUBJECT

United States Policy on Nigeria

PARTICIPANTS:

Mallam Sani Zangon Daura, Commissioner for

Information, North-Central State

Birney A. Stokes, Consul, Kaduna

Kenneth Bache, DPAO/Kaduna

DATE & PLACE : January 17, 1969, American Consul's Office

Mallam Sani called at the Consulate to keep an appointment which he had made three days earlier. He said he wished to discuss something of importance.

Mallam Sani opened with a statement setting forth the shock and displeasure that exists among Nigerians as a result of "the unexpected and sudden change in U.S.G. policy on Nigeria". He soon made it clear that he was referring to the U.S.G. recent announcement that it would provide eight cargo planes to assist in carrying relief supplies for the starving population in Biafra. Mallam Sani emphasized that Nigerians are very disturbed over this "new" position taken by the U.S. He said that the U.S. should recognize the implications of giving relief aid to the rebels and "giving planes to Ojukwu". He said that relief assistance or assistance of any kind to the rebels would result in a prolongation of the war and, still worse, it would impose the threat of a fragmentation of Nigeria. He maintained that if the war was not concluded with success on the part of the Federal Forces, the country could be reduced to a cluster of "warring principalities" and that there would be no peace anywhere in Nigeria for a long time to come. He added that the failure of the Federal Forces to secure a victory and the success of the Biafra venture could result in the balkanization of Africa.

Mallam Sani reviewed the history of the evolution of the Nigerian crisis placing the greatest emphasis on the restraint which the FMG had displayed throughout; the efforts in particular of Major-General Gowon to avoid the outbreak of war and, since

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Page 2 of 4 Encl. No. 1 Kaduna A-06

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the commencement of fighting, Gowon's efforts to bring about an end to it. Mallam Sani concluded that restraint of the FMG had been ignored and the efforts of Gowon to bring about peace have been frustrated by Ojukwu.

Mallam Sani dwelt on the determination of Nigerians to bring about a successful conclusion of the civil war which would preserve the unity of the country. He said that starvation has been used in the past as a legitimate weapon of war and he cited the examples of the blockades of World Wars I and II and the example of the American civil war. Despite this, he said, you expect us to stand aside and allow you to feed our enemies.

With regard to the new influence of the Soviets in Nigeria, Mallam Sani said that the Russians are widely esteemed and "if you believe anything else, you're only kidding yourself". He said he had discussed Communist influence in Nigeria with British MPs during his recent visit in the U.K. With reference to Nigeria's having turned to the Soviet Union for assistance, he said, "only when one's mother dies, does one seek a stepmother". By this he meant that U.S. and U.K. policies have necessitated looking for and finding a new source of support, i.e., the USSR.

Mallam Sani said that the Consulate has an important role in conveying to Washington the true picture of what is transpiring in Nigeria. He said that if the Consulate has conveyed to Washington the true picture of the Nigerian situation and if Washington has rejected those assertions it is humiliating and an insult to the Consulate.

Mallam Sani dwelt at length on the alleged dubious role of the humanitarian organizations in the Nigerian situation. He alleged that it has been proven that these organizations are not limiting themselves to supply so-called relief supplies but have mixed transportation of relief supplies with military and war materials.

Following Mallam Sani's hour-long presentation, Mr. Stokes made a response in an effort to clarify certain points that Mallam Sani had touched on. He emphasized first of all that the U.S. recognizes only the FMG as the legitimate government of Nigeria. He added that, while he appreciated the term had been given a rather derogatory connotation, the U.S. action in

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Page 3 of 4 Encl. No. 1 Kaduna A-06

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providing planes for the transport of relief supplies is based solely and exclusively on humanitarian considerations. Mr. Stokes pointed out that the U.S.G. has frequently expressed and through its aid programs demonstrated its concern for the maintenance of Nigerian unity. He said, however, that the concern for the suffering and the concern over the possibility that hundreds of thousands of people might lose their lives as a result of mass starvation arouses the interest and sympathy of a large segment of the American population. Mr. Stokes pointed out that the eight strato-freighters are not, as Mallam Sani noted, being given to Ojukwu. Rather, he said four of the planes are being sold at a nominal price to the ICRC which agency is recognized by the FMG as the legitimate organization for handling relief operations in rebel-held territory. The remaining four planes are being made available at a nominal price to a newly-formed group called Joint Church Aid, a group of American religious organizations all of which are bent on providing relief to the suffering in the war areas of Nigeria. Mr. Stokes emphasized that the planes were being provided with the proviso that workable inspection procedures would be instituted before they are placed in operation. He pointed out that the Consulate is by no means the agency that determines the policies formulated in Washington. The decision to provide relief assistance to the suffering war areas in Nigeria is in large part a response to public opinion in the U.S. and that, while the Consulate's opinion and that of the Embassy in Lagos would be taken into consideration, such opinions are but one element in the development of U.S. foreign policy. The concern of a segment of the American people for bringing relief to the suffering of the war areas could not simply be ignored. He pointed out that ours is a government which must respond to the wishes of the people. Mr. Bache added that the U.S. believes that the Nigerian problem is an internal affair of Nigeria and that it was Nigeria and Nigerians alone that could solve this problem.

Mr. Stokes asked Mallam Sani whether he intended to make any public statement with regard to this conversation. Mallam Sani replied emphatically no. He said that public publicity of this kind would have an unfortunate effect of arousing the feelings of the people. Mr. Stokes asked him whether he had come to the Consulate at the behest of the MilGov, in his capacity as a Commissioner of N-C State, or on personal grounds. Mallam Sani replied that he had discussed this subject often with the MilGov and had suggested to the MilGov that he would

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Page 4 of 4 Encl. No. 1 Kaduna A-06

like to take up the matter with the American Consulate. In the instance at hand he had not asked for the Governor's permission to come to the Consulate and he had not been asked by the Governor to do so although he had told the Governor in general that this was his intention. Mallam Sani said that he came at his own initiative but that the Governor understood that he might take this step at a convenient time. Mr. Stokes thanked Mallam Sani for taking the time to come and made this detailed presentation and having spoken with forthrightness and frankness about such sensitive matters. He expressed the hope that there might be future opportunities for exchanging views on such matters whether in the future developments were to result in an improvement of Nigerian-American relations or in the deterioration thereof.

As he was leaving, Mallam Sani raised a question, at which he had hinted before, of the possibility of being offered a leader grant to visit the U.S. He indicated that he felt such a visit would be useful in clearing up misunderstandings by seeing matters for himself. He added that he had been offered a trip to the Soviet Union through the agency of Mallam Ibrahim Nock, North-Central State Commissioner for Establishments, but had "put it off" in hopes of first arranging a visit to America.

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AGR	сом	FRB	FROM : Amembassy MOSCO	w Adla San	DATE: January 30, 1969
INT	LAB	TAR	SUBJECT: Soviet View of Par Niggen-USSR	Nigerian Crisis	
TR	хмв	AIR	REF : A-64, January I	17, 1969	
ARMY	CIA	5 NAVY			
3	20	5-	"Nigeria's Thorny Path"	is the title of two lo	ong articles by political
34	USIA	J 3	observer Victor Mayevski In them, Mayevskiy expla	ly, which appeared in F	Pravda January 26 and 28.
- /	NIC	NSC	Nigeria's unity, thereby	y justifying Soviet sup	oport for the Lagos Govern-
	1	6	ment. The articles also	o roundly condemn all c	of Moscow's betesnoires
RS/AN	-MCG-	1	from the US, UK, and FRU Rhodesia, and even Comm	i, to Israel, Portugal, unist China. all of who	, South Africa, Southern om support the Biafran
			secessionists.		
Pi. 12 36	-P833		argues strongly for Nig Nigeria, and of Africa Cameroon have been dama	erian unity as being in as a whole. The econom ged by <sup>N</sup> igeria's civil	on' in Africa, Mayevskiy n the best interest of all mies of Niger, Chad, and war, which indicates that a than that of the Congo,
168	COTYFLO-PBR		Federal Nigeria has the Tanzania, Gabon, Zambia have recognized Biafra, emphasizes (in a thinly unity must not be found amalgamations," but onl	, and Ivory Coast, for the article points out veiled criticism of the ed on "abstract principal contracts of the	"different reasons," t. Mayevskiy then ese four) that African ples or unprincipled
			Dragon Vs. 31. George Mayevskiy belabors the behind the secession, h Britain. He also direc	itting especially hard	f "imperialist" intrigue at the US and Great of supplying arms to
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Biafra, in "humanitarian guise," as a means of supporting Christian Ibos against Muslim northerners. The article glides over French backing for Biafra by merely mentioning the oro-secessionist activities of French oil interests, and an alleged loan of six million pounds sterling to Biafra by "a French bank."

Not surprisingly, Moscow emerges as Nigeria's one true friend throughout the civil conflict. Mayevskiy declares that the USSR respects the FMG's non-aligned policy, and strives to develop friendly relations, based on equality, with Nigeria. Friendly people-to-people relations are developing especially with Nigeria's workers in such cities as Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Benin, Ibadan, and Onitsha. According to Mayevskiy, this improvement in relations between Nigeria and the USSR has "enraged imperialist propaganda," which presently warns of Soviet penetration in the country.

Mayevskiy alleges that the US and Great Britain are now trying to prevent the complete collapse of Biafra by posing as "peace-makers" and "humanitarians." The US is said to be aiding Biafra by supplying eight cargo planes despite Federal Government protests. Moreover, he maintains, in trying to control the crisis, Anglo-American proposals have been made to send a sc-called international peace-keeping force to Nigeria.

Comment: These articles, by an authoritative Soviet journalist, are yet another indication of Soviet support for a united Nigeria in consonance with the aim of the FM: Mayevskiy refrains at the same time from direct attacks against Bisfran leaders, but exceriates their alleged foreign backers. Moreover, he chides the four African countries who have recognized Bisfra. The picture thus emerges of a Soviet Union which, while not insensitive to some aspects of the Bisfran cause, still remains publicly committed to the Federal option.

It is interesting that Mayevskiy makes no predictions concerning the future course of the war; as recently as three weeks ago <u>Pravda</u> predicted an imminent Federal victory (Ref Air). Presumably the Soviets are disturbed that hostilities continue to drag on, and they may be increasingly concerned about FMG prosecution of the war. Mayevskiy's endorsement of General Gowon and the FMC is unmistakable, but hardly ringing.

While a future change in Moscow's Nigerian policy away from the FMC can not be ruled out, there would appear to be no basis for such a supposition from these articles, the most significant ones on Nigeria to be published here in many weeks.

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INT	LAB	TAR	SUBJECT: Biafran "Advice" to the Nixon Administration
TR	ХМВ	AIR 5	REF :
ARMY ,2	20 20	NAVY 5	The rebel radio has recently carried several items (FBIS N270840 and
30	USIA /O	NSA 5	N270725) designed to influence the new Administration into support for the rebels.
4	10	NSC	One broadcast says the Biafran Ministry of Information says Biafrans
			are "happy that the Nixon Administration has pledged to pursue a policy of peace instead of war, and hopes that it will review the (inadequate?) and often dangerous policy of the late Johnson Administration." The Biafran statement "reminds the Nixon Administration that the Nigeria-Biafra war is an international issue." The United States is urged to "speak openly in support of Biafra's cause."
JAN 31 PIN 12 UB	COPYFLO-PBR		A newstalk on the rebel radio January 24, 1969, was devoted mainly to attacking the Johnson Administration which was accused of adopting "a policy of supporting Nigeria's war of genocide." Assistant Secretary Palmer and Ambassador Mathews were attacked by name for providing "support for the presumptous image of Nigeria as a leader among African nations." "That Nigeria broke up is concrete proof that the internal forces necessary for the creation of the African giant were lacking in the country, and so underscores the failure of the policy of the Johnson Administration. The Johnson Administration maintained a policy in the current war which gave preeminence to the economic and political interests of Britain in Biafra and Nigeria in the hope that this would also protect Anglo-American interests. Instead it has succeeded in bringing Russia into the conflict at the expense of these very interests."
)o'.			The United States is charged with pursuing a "quick kill" policy in Biafra, and the only reason "for this criminal policy is the shameful
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dependence by the Johnson Administration on Britain for policy guidance in areas considered traditionally within the British sphere of influence. In its blind support for a most shameful and bloody British rule in Biafra, the United States Government under Mr. Johnson failed to protect the investments in Biafra of its nationals, and has openly supported genocide and the entrenchment of Russian expansionists in Africa.

The newstalk concludes with a reiteration of the charge that American policy has "succumbed to (word indistinct) of British diplomacy," having ignored "the intelligent advice of their consul in Enugu," the great American nation found itself tied to the coattails of "British neocolonialism."

<u>Comment</u>: As Department aware, Ambassador Mathews did not make any statement supporting a "quick kill" resolution of the civil war.

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3	20	5	Tover the past several weeks, the reporting officer h	nas endeavored to
OSD	USIA ./O	NSA 2	piece together information on the numbers and genera	al situation of Ibos
34. NJC	ing denga Ngjaran Ngjaran	PASS	in federally held territory.	
3  Pi   2 07	CCRYFLO-Pax		and many in the FMG foresaw an early end to the war, area correspondingly declined. There was some evided loss were crossing into federally controlled territor any evidence that any large number of Ibos with super Biafran soldiers left Biafra. With the introduction via Libreville in October and November, there was an of rebel resistance; this was reflected not only in but also in a dropoff of civilian defections. We had that those civilians who did cross over tended simple areas away from the roads, and thus from FMG troops. Asika, the Ibo administrator of the East-Central Staplea to Ibo women to come over to the federal side a office say that for a time last year, the appeal had the women using the safe-conduct passes which the FMG ting.  Further light on this question was shed when an Amer a British marketing specialist conducted a food surv	ence that ordinary bry. We do not have prior education or the ordinary or the french arms apparent stiffening increased firepower we the impression by to stay in the but ast September, te, made a special and sources in his some effect, with the was then distributionally and ever for the TCRC
			in the federally held areas of the East-Central, Sou Rivers states between October 20 and November 16, 19	th-Eastern and

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regards these people as competent, and both have had long experience in the former Eastern Region. We find it politically interesting that in an area bounded by Nsukka, Nkalagu in the East, Awgu in the south and thence west to the River Niger, about two-thirds of the original population of one and a half million have returned to their farms and villages. The reports says that "many are still in the bush areas 10 to 20 miles from the main towns and roads."

The report also notes that "People from specific areas tend to return to their villages in large groups. After a period of quiet, the northern Nsukka Division villagers flocked back to their homes in Enugu, Ezike, Obukpo and Ogurugu. More recently, refugees are returning to their homes in the Ozalla area and the Abgani areas. People are returning or being by-passed by the line of fighting at the rate of roughly 50,000 to 100,000 people per month in this sector." As recently as Christmastime, the British member of the food survey team talked to an Ibo, formerly a student at the University of Nsukka, who walked from Umushia to Enugu in order to avoid conscription into the rebel army. He confirmed that there is no food rationing in Biafra, although petrol is in very short supply. He said most people had "enough" to eat, but there were often difficulties in transporting local food crops from a surplus production area to where it was needed.

In the South-Eastern State, particularly around Uyo, there was bitter fighting and consequently a good deal of civilian suffering. In an area bounded by Calabar, Enyong, Eket, Abak, Ikot Ekpene and Uyo, it is estimated that of the 3,000,000 people normally resident in that area (mostly non-Ibos), more than one-half million have been "displaced from their farms."

Insufficient information was available from the Aba and Owerri districts (probably because of the military situation), but from a brief survey in the general area, the team concluded that about one-half the normal population in those districts had remained in the rural areas away from the roads.

The number and quality of people coming over the federal side has not, as yet, been a major psychological/morale factor in determining the future course of the political-military situation. Our best "guesstimate" is that there are 3 to 4 million persons in rebel-held territory - a conclusion shared by the member of the survey team with extensive experience in Iboland proper. However, we do think it is important that 1) a significant number of Ibos, by remaining in federal territory (though largely avoiding federal troops), have shown that they are convinced that secession will not work in the long rum, and 2) they evidently do not think they are in danger of being sought out and mistreated by federal soldiers or officials. Most of these people are probably passively pro-Biafra, but in the main, they wish only to be left alone and hope to return to their original homes if they have been displaced by the fortunes of war.

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1. SMALL USIS BOOK PRESENTATION TODAY FOR NEW LIBRARY.
OF KADUNA FEDERATION OF YOUTH CLUBS PLANNED AS VERY
LOW-KEY AFFAIR TURNED OUT TO BE STAGE FOR POLITE BUT
FAIRLY DEFINITE STATEMENT OF VIEWS US. ROLE IN
NIGERIAN CRISIS. UNKNOWN TO USIS, FEDERATION
ORGANIZING SECRETARY INVITED FEDERATION CHAIRMAN,
IBRAHIM NOCK, COMMISSIONER FOR ESTABLISHMENTS NORTHCENTRAL STATE (AND NEWLY ELECTED CHAIRMAN NIGERIANSOVIET CULTURAL AND FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY) TO ACCEPT
ROOKS AND SUMMONED PRESS AND TELEVISION TO COVER.
READING FROM PREPARED STATEMENTNOCK THANKED USIS
FOR INTEREST IN YOUTHS, FOR EARLIER TRAINING PROGRAM
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FILM SHOWS FOR GROUP. DEPARTING FROM TEXT, HE
ADDED NIGERIANS AWARE OF AMERICA'S PROBLEMS AT
HOME, HOPED USIS WOULD HELP PROMOTE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF NIGERIA'S CRISIS MONG AMERICAN PEOPLE
AND EMPHASIZED CRISIS WAS NIGERIAN INTERNAL AFFAIR.
IN REPLY ABPAOL OF THE PROMOTE OF THE PROPORTY. IN REPLY ABPAO (BPAO DID NOT ATTEND IN LINE WITH ATTEMPT TO KEEP, AFFAIR LOW-KEY) SAID VIEWS WOULD BE CONVEYED AND EMPHASIZED THAT EXCHANGE OF BOOKS AND DISCUSSION WAS IMPORTANT WAY OF INCREASING MUTUAL.

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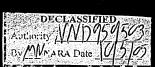
TO OUR CONTACTS AMONG AND AROUND OCAM DELEGATES INDICATE HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY MAY GET NOWHERE: IN EXPECTED BID TO ELICIT SOLID OCAM PROPOSALS FOR RESOLUTION NIGERIAN CONFLICTO APPARENTLY STRONG OPPOSITION ALREADY BUILDING UP AMONG SOME DELEGATIONS, THOSE OF NIGER AND CAMEROON IN PARTICULAR, AGAINST ANY PRONOUNCEMENT WHICH MIGHT SUGGEST WEAKENING IN THEIR SUPPORT FOR FEDERAL; GOVERNMENT.

STATEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT. ONLY STATEMENT TO DATE HAS BEEN HIS VAGUE REFERENCE IN OPENING SESSION SPEECH TO NEED FOR OCAM DISCUSSION OF BROADER AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

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POL 27 BIAKRA-NIGERIA OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State INDICATE: COLLECT UNCLASSIFIED Classification 35 z ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS 20 JAH 69 21 INFO: Amembassy ABIDJAN ADDIS ABABA LIBREVILLE LONDON PARIS US MISSION GENEVA USUN NY Amconsul IBADAN KADUNA SUBJECT: Nigeria Press Summary - Jan 28 1. AP Lagos reports Jan 27 Nigerian army has barred newsmen from front in Nigerian civil war according Ministry Information sources. Informants said army wanted no clearances issued to newsmen to visit any areas around Biafra in Eastern Nigeria. No reason given and no official announcement made. 2. Wash Post Jan 28 carries Anthony Astrachan despatch from Nairobi headed Biafra question is complex one. Hundreds of thousands dying of hunger in Nigerian civil war and American awareness this immense human disaster producing growing demands US intervene, either to fly food to save lives, to compel cease-fire, to recognize Biafra, or even to provide arms to Biafra. Demands are coming however from people, including US senators, profoundly ignorant of Africa, of what really happening on ground in Nigeria/Biafra, xxx of probably costs of intervention. Their ignorance only partly dispelled by tours on scene under QTE guidance UNQTE their hosts. Demands are spurred by Biafra lobby, a RM4/QX Oraffed by:

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INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT

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Origin

ACTION: Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

hybrid of right and left, Catholics and Zionists, black power and white racists, whose support for Biafra almost only thing they have in common. Essential fact is Nigerians feel they fighting for survival their country, while Biafrans feel they fighting for survival as people. Bitterness of conflict helps explain why starvation used as weapon by both sides. Nigeria uses it to weaken Biafra's physical resistance; Biafra to win public and diplomatic support. Biafra has refused land corridor, prime requisite for adequate relief hungry on any terms Nigerians could accept. Official pretext was fear Nigerian soldiers would march in behind relief trucks, but fear that end starvation would weaken Biafra appeal abroad may also have been a motive. Bitterness comprehensible only in terms complex pattern historical events, psychological attitudes and physical facts that seriously limit effectiveness any outside intervention. Ibos, tribe dominant in Biafra, are aggressive intelligent people who held disproportionate share jobs civil service, public utilities and commerce old Nigeria, Ibo officers seemed to many play disproportionate role in Jan 1966 coup that ended old civilian regime. A tragic result was series anti-Ibo pogroms in 1966 with perhaps 20,000 Ibos and others killed (Biafrans say 30,000, sometimes 50,000). In first six months war perhaps another 10,000 Biafrans killed in noncombat atrocities. Almost every Ibo

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ACTION: Page 3 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

lineage has lost someone. It not surprising Ibos go on fighting and starving; their view history makes them think alternative is massacre, especially when they see recurrent air raids in which they see civilians, especially children, killed or when they see famine in land. There another side however. Nigerians find it hard think of Ibos as mere victims persecution. They remember not only prewar Ibo arrogance but also Biafran invasion midwest state in Aug 1967, aggressive move that turned minority tribes from quiet sympathy Biafra to Ibo-hating. Also despite FMG air raids and refusal investigate or apologize for pogroms and offer compensation, there no evidence any Nigerian plan for genocide. That is view generals four different countries, team of UN observers and various reporters including Astrachan.

3. He continues: one solution might be Iboland with own army, police guaranteeing life and property but within Nigeria as Zanzibar in Tanzania. Might have to be Iboland with access industry and sea at Port Harcourt, which FMG has excluded from new state it has drawn for Ibos. Outsider might be able design transition from truce to settlement, policed by Africa, Commonwealth or UN troops. But it unlikely either side would accept such a rational compromise. Costs outside intervention hard to estimate, but would be high. Even-costs relief difficult figure. Nobody knows how many people dying every

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ACTION: Page 4 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

day hunger either in Biafra or Nigeria. People wander constantly, hide in bush, die there. Figures bandied about are extrapolations from few known villages, hospitals. Nobody even knows how many people still are in Biafra controlled territory; estimates range three to eight million. Thus becomes difficult estimate food, planes, personnel needed. Relief airlift costs \$2 million monthly feed fraction of hungry. Adequate relief would probably cost \$1 million daily at least. Would require thousands men from outside, also land corridor, unpalatable or indigestible many starving Africans and local food must be obtained mix with proteins 🗫 or vitamins. Diplomatic cost US intervention might also be high. Any further US step toward outright support Biafra would mean opposing Britain first time since Suez, possible confrontation with Soviet Union, or abandoning Nigeria to growing Soviet influence. Would mean angry relations with more than 30 states in Black Africa who support Nigerian integrity lest precedent be set for secession own countries. And of course would mean opposing Nigeria with 40 million people and major American and other Western investments.

4. Post also carries letter to editor from Amb. Iyalla taking issue Post editorial Jan 18, denying any FMG influence in EG decision suspend ICRC flights.

			<u> 10 - January Britania (j. 1888)</u>		
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FORM DS-322

Classification

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Authority VND 95 1503

BVMNARA Date VD 5 65

### outgoing telegram Department of State

INDICATE: COLLECT

UNCLASSIFIED Classification

Origin

ACTION: Page 5 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

ACTION: Tage 5 of telegram to A

Endeavors FMG work in close cooperation ICRC is matter of record. Bases for ICRC operations were spelt out agreements with that organization and as result proposals HIM at Addis Conference. FMG in its ardent desire alleviate hunger, suffering, privation to greatest extent possible among civilian populations in war affected areas both sides fighting lines has always adhered fully to this agreement and even shown great tolerance when relief agencies have unfortunately not fulfilled own obligations as for instance to military and political neutrality. On charges FMG using starvation as war weapon, Amb refers to observer reports and UN rep Gussing's report absolving Nigerian Govt of charges of this nature. Finally, may he assure readers whose humanitarian concern we appreciate that FMG urgently exploring with all interests concerned, including its neighbors, means of meeting situation created by this development and of insuring delivery relief supplies by all reasonable and practicable means to our unfortunate brothers caught behind rebel lines.

5. Balt Sun carries AP report Umuahia headed Biafra issues its truce terms. In document entitled QTE a cease-fire that can work UNQTE Biafran ministry information said genuine cease-fire would have to be accompanied by complete stoppage arms supplies to both sides. QTE Nigerian troops should be withdrawn from Biafran territory they now occupy so that millions of Biafrans who fled

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FORM DS-322

Authority WND95 1503 By MNARA Date 0 5 05

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

Origin

ACTION: Page 6 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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when troops entered will be able return to their homes UNQTE document said. This withdrawal troops xx should be followed by supervision evacuated areas by international team with composition agreed both sides.

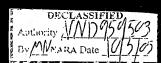
6. NYTimes has story woman here accused of fraud in Biafra funds - State charges Briton who banked \$20,000 not authorized collect it. State attorney general Louis Lefkowitz charged in State Supreme Court none of money collected by Susan Garth, 40 year old English woman, in her widely publicized efforts raise funds for starving children Biafra was turned over QTE to any bona fide relief organization UNQTE. Justice Levy froze three bank accounts containing more than \$20,000 pending hearing Friday and ordered Miss Garth give accounting then of money she collected. Garth could not be reached for comment. Garth charged in affidavit having fraudulently represented herself on several radio and TV programs as being associated with Biafran Relief Services Foundation, Inc. and Biafra Relief Fund, Inc. Foundation, at 777 United Nations Plaza incorporated under NY law last September and fund at 605 Broad Street, Newark, under New Jersey law. Both received charitable exemptions from IRS. Affidavit also cited NYTimes Jan 1 article as example her misrepresentations. Affidavit said since she in US since last October or November she has journeyed to

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FORM DS-322



OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Classification

ACTION: Page 7 of telegram to Amembassy LAOGS

Bahamas almost every weekend for purported purpose attending to business. Atty Gen Lefkowitz in separate statement said he urged public continue supporting legitimate organizations which authorized solicit funds for Biafra relief.

END

ROGERS

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FORM DS-322

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POLZT BIAITRA-NIGERIA

#### Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00775 2817432

ACTION AF 18

TNFO EUR 15, NIC 01, 10 13 CTAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10,P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, AID 28,

SR 01. ORM 03. RSR 01. 146 W

P R 281710Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS: TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4663 THEO AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 775

SUBJECT & SOVIET AMBASSADOR DENIES ACCUSING USG RESPONSIBLE FOR NIGERIAN PROBLEMS

REF LAGOS 747 (NOTAL)

T. REFITEL DESCRIBED LAGOS DAILY TIMES FRONT-PAGE STORY JANUARY 28 IN WHICH SOVIET AMBASSADOR ROMANOV WHILE IN KADUNA ALLEGEDLY ACCUSED THE US OF QTE BEING PARTLY RESPONST ALE FOR PROLONGATION OF CURRENT CONFLICT IN NIGERIA UNGTE PAPER QUOTES ROMANOV AS SAYING QTEL AMERICA IS WELL KNOWN FOR HIDING ITS FACE AFTER CAUSING SERIOUS CRISIS BETWEEN TWO FRIENDLY COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD OR INTRA-CONFLICTS BETWEEN BROTHERS OF ONE NATION UNGTE:

AT LAGOS AIRPORT, AFTER TWO-DAY CONFERENCE NIGERIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY IN KADUNA, AMBASSADOR TOLD REPORTERS IT CLEAR THAT IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES QTE PARTICULARLY THE AMERICANS UNGTE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR PROLONGATION NIGERIAN WAR.

3. WHEN AMBASSADOR! CALLED ROMANOV TO PROTEST. ROMANOV DENIED THAT HELHAD MADE STATEMENT QTE IN LAGOS UNDTE: WHEN PAO CALLED TIMES EDITOR TO REFUTE SOVIET ALLEGATION, IT NOTEWORTH SOVIET EMBASSY FIRST SECRETARY IN EDITOR SOFFICE TO ECHO! ROMANOV'S DENIAL SOVIETS WERE TOLD TIMES WOULD PRINT DENIAL BUT ONLY IF SOVIET EMBASSY GAVE THEM LETTER ON WHICH

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 00775 281743Z

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Authority WN 95 53

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

### Department of State

139 SECRET

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00777 282106Z

ACTION SS 70

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0 281845Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS: TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4665

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REFO STATE 13067 PH2 Thentre myran

1. QUESTION A. BOTH FEDERALISTS AND REBELS ARE STILL DETERMINED TO CONTINUE CONFLICT UNTIL RESPECTIVE BASIC WAR AIMS - I.E. ONE NIGERIA OR SOVEREIGN BIAFRA - ARE ACHIEVED. ON FEDERAL SIDE DISSATISFACTION WITH CONDUCT OF WAR EXPRESSES ITSELF PREDOMINANTLY IN CALLS FOR GREATER EFFORT FOR EARLY VICTORY RATHER THAN WILLINGNESS TO ABANDON ONE NIGERIA. ON REBELL SIDE, WE BELLEVE CALLS FOR CEASELFIRE AND VAGUEL REFERENCES TO QTEL COMMONWEALTH ARRANGEMENTS UNQUELETCO AREL POLITICALL TACTICS AND DO NOT REFLECT ANY FALLING AWAY FROM BASIC AIM OF SOVEREIGNTY.

2. IN MILITARY TERMS. BOTH SIDES ARE NOW AT TEMPORARY STANDSTILL. ON FEDERALI SIDE! RENEWED! PROGRESS REQUIRES GREATER COMMITMENT OF MANPOWER AND RESOURCES TO CAPTURE REBELL AIRSTRIPS AND OVERRUNI REMAINING STRATEGIC POSITIONS BY GROUND ACTION ON REBELLSIDE IT SEEMS EVIDENT PRESENT LEVEL FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS INADEQUATE FOR SIGNIFICANT MILITARY VICTORIES OVER FMG FORCES. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT MAJOR THRUST OF REBELL MILITARY EFFORT IS TO RECAPTURE CITIES - 4 E. G. OWERRI - RATHER THAN MOUNT EXTENSIVE GUERRILLA OPERATIONS.

3. AVAILABLE EVIDENCE LEADS US TO BELIEVE FMG IS SEEKING TO REMEDY ITS MILITARY DEFICIENCIES. IT HAS UNTAPPED RESOURCES AND WE BELIEVE ASSURED ACCESS TO SOVIET AND LESS CERTAINLY BRITISH ARMS. REBELS ON OTHER HAND ARE ALREADY HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN

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Authority WND9 By MINARA Date \_\_\_\_



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PAGE 02 LAGOS 00777 282106Z

ASSISTANCE AND REMOVALITHEIR MILITARY DEFICIENCIES HINGES ON WILLINGNESS FRENCH AND OTHER FOREIGN BACKERS SUBSTANTIALLY TO: INCREASE THEIR MATERIAL SUPPORT. IF THIS INCREASED SUPPORT NOT FOTHCOMING. WE BELIEVE LIKELY OUTCOME WILL BE REBEL DEFEAT IN 1969.

4. QUESTION B. FMG VICTORY WOULD HOLD NIGERIA TOGETHER BUT WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY VERY DIFFICULT PERIOD OF UNCERTAIN DURATION IN WHICH ORDER WOULD HAVE TO BE RESTORED AND MAINTAINED. BASIC POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DECISIONS HAMMERED OUT AND EXTENSIVE REINTEGRATION, REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION UNDERTAKEN. THESE TASKS WOULD GREATLY STRAIN CAPABILITIES OF NIGERIANS BUT WE JUDGE THEY HAVE BETTER THAN EVEN CHANCE OF REASONABLE SUCCESS.

50 IF REBEL VICTORY WERE SO SWEEPING AS TO BRING ALL OF FORMER EASTERN REGION AND PERHAPS OTHER CONTIGUOUS AREAS INTO BIAFRA, REST OF XGERÍA WOULD PROBABLY BREAK UP ALONG TRIBALILINES WITH ATTENDANT WIDESPREAD DISORDER AND SUBSEQUENT EXTENDED PERIOD OF INSTABILITY. IF HOWEVER VICTORIOUS BIAFRA CONSISTED ONLY OF PREDOMINANTLY BO TERRITORY, REST OF NIGERIA WOULD PROBABLY HOLD TOGETHER AND RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO NATIONS WOULD BE SO BESET BY FRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES AS TO MAKE SECOND ROUND OF WARFARE HIGHLY LIKELY.

6. QUESTION C. FRENCH: POLITICAL; SUPPORT AND MATERIAL; ASSISTANCE TO REBELS: HAS: HAD GREATEST IMPACTION: NIGERIAN SITUATION OF ANY ASSISTANCE FROM OTUSIDE: POWERS. WITHOUT FRYNCH: INTERVENTION; REBELS: WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY HAVE SOUGHT SETTLEMENT IN CONTEXT ONE NIGERIA LATE LAST SUMMER'S SOVIET SALE OF USET AIRCRAFT TO FMG HAS: HAD LITTLE EFFECT ON WAR BUT SALE OF ARMY MATERIAL BY SOVIETS; BRITISH AND OTHERS! HAS: BEEN MAINSTAY OF FMG MILITARY EFFORTS

7 POLITICAL EFFECT OF FRENCH ASSISTANCE TO REBELS
TOGETHER WITH WIDESPREAD SYMPATHY FOR REBELS MAINLY
ON HUMANITARIAN LITOUNDS IN NORO AMERICA AND WESTERN
EUROPE HAS BEEN THAT MANY NIGERIANS QUESTION VALUE OF
TRADITIONAL TIES WITH WEST. CONTINUED BRITISH SUPPLY

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By Minara Date V5 105



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PAGE 03 LAGOS 00777 282106Z

OF ARMS TO FMG HAS BEEN MAJOR FACTOR IN BLUNTING THIS EFFECT. SOVIETS: HAVE! GAINED! MORE! FROM DISILLUSION WITH WEST THAN FROM POSITIVE! IMPACTNVHEIR SUPPORT OF FMG.

8. POLITICAL EFFECTS IN REBELL TERRITORY SEEM TO BE REVERSE OF THOSE IN FEDERALI TERRITORY.

9. QUESTION D. IF FRANCE CEASED SUPPORT OF REBELS, THEIR CAUSSUWOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY BELLOST. CONVERSELY, IF SOVIETS AND BRITISH REFUSED FURTHER ARMS TO FMG. SCALE OF ITS MILITARY EFFORT WOULD BE DRASTICALLY REDUCED. WE JUDGE HOWEVER, THAT IF FRANCE UK AND USSR ALL WITHDREW FROM ARMS BUSINESS. ADVANTAGE WOULD BAUWITH FMG. AS IT SHOULD BE ABLE OUTBUY REBELS IN GRAY ARMS MARKETS.

TOO QUESTION E. IN HUMANITARIAN TERMS, USG POLICY THUS FAR HAS ENABLED US TO CONTRIBUTE TO UNUSUAL STUATION IN WHICH INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FACED WITH REBELLION HAS ACQUIESCED IN INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORT ON BOTH SIDAK OF BATTLES LINES WHICH WAS FEEDING ABOUT MILLION AND HALF PEOPLE IN REBEL TERRITORY UNTIL INTERRUPTION ICRC AIRLIET REDUCED INFLOW WE HAVE MOREOVER ASSISTED IN OBTAINING PUBLIC FMG COMMITMENT TO ACCEPT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND LAND CORRIDOR TO DELIVER RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO REBEL TERRITORY. OUR! ROLE IN RELIEF EFFORT IS ALSO KNOWN TO AND APPRECIATED BY REBELS.

II. IN TERMS: NATIONAL) INTEREST, USG POLICY, DESPITE SEVERAL PERIODSICES STRAIN AND SOME EROSION OF OUR POSITION, HAS: MAINTAINED OUR RELATIONS: WITH FMG AT A LEVEL OF EFFECTIVENESS WHICH HAS: ENABLED US TO PROTECT AMERICAN CITIZENS AND INVESTMENTS AND TO CONTINUE TO HAVESCOME INFLUENCE ON FMG DECISIONS AND ACTIONS OUR POLICY HAS ALSO RECEIVED APPROBATION OF MOST OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS. REBELS, OF COURSE, HAVE BITTERLY RESENTED USG SUPPORT OF ONE NIGERIA, BUT HAVE BEEN CAREFULINOT TO BURN THEIR BRIDGES TO US.

GP . I . MATHEWS:

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PAGE 01 IBADAN 00026 281707Z

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NSC 10,P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 20,USIA 12,A10 28 RSR 01,ACDA 16,30

R 281330Z JAN 69 FM AMCONSUL IBADAN TO SECSTATE WASHOC 746 TNFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS AMCONSUL' KADUNA

L'IMITED OFFICIAL USE IBADAN 26

SUBJECT: FORMER NNDP MINISTER'S VIEWS ON US NIGERIAN POLICY AND UNREST IN WESTERN NIGERIA

1. R.O.A. AKINJIDE, IBADAN LAWYER, NNDP LEADER AND FORMER FEDERALIMINISTER OF EDUCATION, CAME TO MY OFFICE TO RETURN BORROWED BOOK AND TOOK OCCASION FOR CONVERSATION ON TWO OFFHIS FAVORITE THEMES.

2. FIRST WAS US POLICY TOWARDS NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR WHICH HE SAID HAD BEEN AMBIVALENT FROM START, BEGINNING WITH OUR FAILURE SELL ARMS TO FRIENDLY STATE! FACED WITH INTERNAL REBELLING. HE: CLAIMED OUR POLICY OF NON-INVOLVEMENT WAS IN FACT INVOLVEMENT IN INTEREST REBELS. ALSO ASSERTED UNNAMED HIGH FMG OFFICIALS CONVINCED THERE REBELS. ALSO ASSERTED UNNAMED HIGH FMG OFFICIALS CONVINCED THERE.
HAD BEEN COVERT CIA SUPPORT OF REBELS ALL ALONG AND EVEN THAT
OJUKMU HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED BEFORE SECESSION TO BELIEVE HE WOULD
RECEIVE US SUPPORT. ALSO CLAIMED ATTITUDE OF AMCONSUL ENUGU: HAD
FNCOURAGED OJUKWU HOPES. COULD PRODUCE NO EVIDENCE BUT SAID IT WAS
FACT THAT THESE THINGS BELIEVED IN HIGH QUARTERS IN LAGOS. ONLY
WAY WE COULD DISPEL SUCH SUSPICIONS WAS AGREE SELL ARMS TO FMG.
HAD WE DONE SO ORIGINALLY, WAR HOULD HAVE BEEN OVER LONG AGO AND
MUCH SUFFERING AVOIDED. EVEN NOW BEST WAY GET RELIEF TO VICTIMS IN
FAST WOULD BE SUFPLY ARMS TO ENABLE FMG FINISH WAR QUICKLY. INSTEAD
WE WERE AWAKENING OLD SUSPICIONS AND PROLONGING WAR HAVE BI-PASSING
WE WERE AWAKENING OLD SUSPICIONS AND PROLONGING WAR HAVE BI-PASSING
EMG IN ORDER GET AID TO EAST. MY EFFORTS TO EXPLAIN OUR HUMANISTERIAN OBJECTIVE AND DENY THERE WAS NOW OR EVER HAD BEEN ANY KIND

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ByMMARA Date

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PAGE 01 KADUNA 00067 281519Z

51 ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NIC 01, SAH 02, 10 13, AID 28, SR 01,

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P 281000Z JAN 69 ZEL!
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1025
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL IBADAN

UNCLAS KADUNA ØØ67

SUBJECT: RUSSINA AMBASSADOR'S ATTACK ON U.S. POLICY AT KADUNA PRESS CONFERENCE.

I. JANUARY 28 "NEW NIGERIAN" FEATURES BANNER HEADCINE ON BACK PAGE ENTITLED "HANDS OFF NIGERIAN CRISIS" USA IS WARNED".
ARTICLE CONTAINS REMARKS TO PRESS AT KADUNA AIRPORT BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR A.I. ROMANOV WHO ALLEGEDLY BLAMED "IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES PARTICULARLY THE US", FOR PROLONGATION OF CURRENT CONFLICT AND WARNED SUCH COUNTRIES "HANDS OFF INTERNAL AFFAIRS ON NIGERIA OR FACE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ACTS.

2. ACCORDING TO NEW NIGERIAN, ROMANOV CHARGED AMERICANS:
"ALWAYS HIDE THEIR FACES AFTER CAUSING SERIOUS CIRSIS BETWEEN
TWO FRIENDLY NATIONS OR AFTER MEDDLING IN INTERNAL CONFLICT
GETWEEN BROTHERS OF SAME NATION. HE SAID THAT "THESE
IMPERIALISTS" SHOULD NOT REGARD SILENCE OF PEOPLES AND
GOVERNMENT OF USER AS "WEAKNESS OR STUPIDITY". PEACE LOVING
SOVIET PEOPLE WOULD NOT TOLERATE ATTEMPT BY AMERICANS
TO INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN CRISIS WHICH IS PURELY NIGERIAN
INTERNAL AFFAIR OR "WE SHALL THROW IN ALL OUR WEIGHT IN DEFENSE
OF PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO DECIDE THEIR AFFAIRS IN WAY
THEY SEE FIT RENUSIA SUPPORTED FMG, HE SAID, NOT BECAUSE OF
ATTEMPT TO GAIN FOOTHOLD IN NIGERIA, BUT "TO ASSERT RUSSIA'S
RECOGNITION FOR DIGNITY OF MAN AND SOVEREIGNTY OF NIGERIA'S

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PAGE 02 KADUNA 00067 281519Z

3. REFERRING TO REPORT OF GIFT OF SUPER CONSTELLATION BY CANADA FOR MERCY FLIGHTS, RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED "SHOCK" THAT CANADA "COULD ALLOW ITSELF TO BE DRAGGED INTOSUCH ACTION", BUT HE ACCUSED U.S. OF "INFLUENCING CANADA OVER ANY ACTION IT TOOK IN NIGERIAN CRISIS."

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	STATE	Gol 2 <sup>1</sup> /8x						
	Subject: Nigeriam Ci	vil War						
	Ref: Addis 335 and M	onrovia 8852						
	1. Department has noted with interest Liberian efforts to							
	bring about meeting of OAU ConCom to consider ways of ending							
	Nigerian conflict. Ambassador should seek early opportunity							
	to draw out President Tubman or other GOL officials on their							
		on any new approaches or s						
$\bigcap$	may have.							
5)	2. USG has been in c	lose and frequent touch wi	th Haile Selassie					
		ast few weeks. Should HIM						
	USG re ConCom meeting, we would be prepared to express strong							
	support, as we believe it useful explore as promptly as possible							
	all appropriate means	to bring an end to hostil	ities. ROGERS					
A Page	19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 19 1	END						
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# Department of State 18 Ool 3 OAU TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00239 290123Z

ACTION: 10: 15:

INFO AF! 12 EUR 15 ACDA 16 AID 28 SAH 02 SCSE 00 SCA 01 ORM 03 SR 01, C

E 155 CIAE 00 DODE 00 GPM 04 H 02 INR 07 L 03 NSAE 00 NSC 10 P 04,

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P: 282333Z. JAN: 69'
FM: USMISSION: USUN: NY
TO: SECSTATE: WASHDC: PRIORITY 5902;
INFO: AMEMBASSY: ADDIS' ABABA. PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY: LAGOS:
AMEMBASSY: LONDON:
AMEMBASSY: LONDON:
AMEMBASSY: YAOUNDE:
HSMISSION: GENEVA.

UNCLAS USUN 239

SUBU: PORTION ON NIGERIA OF SYG'S JAN. 28 NEWS CONFERENCE

YAOUNDE PASS SANTA ISABELI

I. "QUESTION: CONTRARY TO SOME PREDICTIONS: NIGERIAN CIVIL! WAR HAS NOT DRAWN TO EARLY CUNCLUSION. CAN YOU GIVE US YOUR ASSESSMENT OF PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN REGION FROM BOTH POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN POINTS OF VIEW?

PROBLEM OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE IN ALGUERS OF THOSE AFRICAN STATES AND GOVERNMENT OF STATE AND STATES AND GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE IN ALGUERS OF STATE AND STATES AND STATES AND STATE AND STATES AND SOVERNMENT OF AFRICAN STATES ATTENDED SUMMIT CONFERENCE IN ALGUERS I ALSO ATTENDED THAT CONFERENCE IT IS USEFUL REGALL DECISIONS OF THOSE AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE.

3. "IT WAS MADE VERY PLAIN BY HEADS OF AFRICAN STATES PROBLEMEN NIGERIA IS INTERNALIAFFAIR. AT BOTH SUMMIT.

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PAGE 02 USUN NI 00239 290123Z

CONFERENCES, OAU REQUESTED ALL MEMBERS OF UNITARIAL MEMBERS
OF OAU TO REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION LIKELY TO IMPEDE PEACE,
UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NIGERIA. TO ME THAT IS
VERY IMPORTANT GUIDELINE. IF HEADS OF AFRICAN STATES HAVE
ASKED ALL MEMBERS OF UNITARD ALL MEMBERS OF OAU TO
REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTION LIKELY TO ENDANGER PEACE, UNITY AND
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NIGERIA, I DO NOT SEE HOW MEMBER
STATE, OR FOR THAT MATTER SYG, CAN BE ACTIVELY INVOLVED.

4. "THAT IS ONLY ONE ASPECT OF PROBLEM. ANOTHER ASPECT IS, OF COURSE, HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM. AS YOU ALL KNOWN, I HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN FACILITATING SHIPMENT OF RELIEF COMMOD—
TTIES: TO CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF CONFLICT IN NIGERIA. UNICEF AND WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME HAVE BEEN AND CONTINUE TO BE VERY ACTIVELY ENGAGED! IN THIS GREAT HUMANITARIAN TASK. TO BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE, FMG IN LAGOS HAS NOT IMPEDED FLOW OF RELIEF GOODS TO CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF WAR. TO BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE. FMG IS WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND RELIEF AGENCIES IN ORDER TO TRANSHIP NECESSARY SUPPLIES AND FOOD STUFFS: TO AFFLICTED PEOPLE IN AREA.

5. "THUS, MY ASSESSMENT OF PROBLEM! IS: THAT IMPEDIMENTS HAVE NOT COME FROM LAGOS. THAT IS MY CONCLUSION, BASED ON CONCLUSION OF MY SPECIAL! REPRESENTATIVE, MR. GUSSING, WHO HAS: BEEN: THERE! FOR SOME! TIME, AS: YOU! ALL! KNOW.

6. "ANOTHER IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE FROM UN POINT
OF VIEW, AND FOR THAT MATTER FROM MY POINT OF VIEW, IS THAT
UN AS SUCH CANNOT ENDORSE OR SUPPORT ANY ACTION OR ANY
MOVEMENT FOR SECESSION OF A PARTICULAR PART OF A MEMBER
STATE, VOU WILL! RECALL THAT UN SPENT OVER: \$500 MILLION AND
MANY PRECIOUS LIVES IN CONGO TO PERFORM CERTAIN
FUNCTIONS. AS THINGS DEVELOPED UN WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN
FREVENITING THREATENED SECESSION OF KATANGA FROM CONGO.
THAT IS ATTITUDE: -- AND I THINK RIGHT ATTITUDE: -- FOR
UN TO JAKE.

7. "AS YOU KNOW, THERE ARE SECESSIONIST MOVEMENTS IN MANY PARTS OF WORLD. I WOULD SAY THAT MORE THAN HALF OF MEMBER STATES OF UN ARE BESET WITH THAT PROBLEM. OF COURSE, IT IS A PURELY INTERNAL PROBLEM. IF UN WERE TO GIVE

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Authority WND 95 95 93 By MWARA Date 0 5 95



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PAGE 03 USUN N 00239 290123Z

ENDORSEMENT TO PRINCIPLE OF SECESSION; THERE WOULD BE NOT END TO PROBLEMS BESETTING MANY MEMBER STATES.

R. "THAT WAS, THEREFORE, ONE PRIMARY CONSIDERATION IN MINDS:
OF HEADS OF STATELOF AFRICA, WHEN THEY ADOPTED TWO
RESOLUTIONS TO WHICH I REFERRED EARLIER. AS: FAR AS: HUMANIT.
ARIAN ASPECTS ARE CONCERNED. AS: I SAID, UN AS: SUCH AND SYG AS:
SUCH WILL DO ALL! THEY CAN. IN THEIR POWER. TO ALLEVIATE
SUFFERING OF PEOPLE WHO ARE CIVILIAN VICTIMS: OF CONFLICT."

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By MMARA Date U5 05

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#### OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT

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ACTION:

The New York Times 229 West 43rd Street

New York, N.Y.

The Editor

Ambassador Mathews, American Ambassador to Nigeria, has requested the Department to transmit the following to the Editor of the New York Times.

QUOTE Dear Sir:

Your January 1, 1969 issue prominently features a quote ascribed to Congressman Lukens (R. Ohio) in which I am alleged to have said that 'a quick kill' was the most humane way to end the Nigerian civil war. This allegation was reported by Lloyd Garrison when he interviewed Congressman Lukens in Paris following the Congressman's visit to Nigeria.

As this completely false quotation was again attributed to me in the identical full-page advertisements carried in your newspaper and the Washington Post on January 21, I consider it necessary to set the record straight.

I did not use the phrase 'quick kill' with Congressman (
Lukens or with anyone who has ever sought my opinion on the
situation in this country. On the contrary, I made it clear
that I supported wholeheartedly the official policy of my

Oreflect the Clearances:

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Telegraphic transmission ar

P - Mr. Phillips

AF - Mr. Palmer (substance) AK

AF/P - Mr. Perkins C.J.

UNCLASSIFIED Classification

FORM DS-322

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Authority WND95 1503
By MMARA Date 10 5 105

#### UNCLASSIFIED Classification

Government that we wished to see an early and negotiated end to this tragic conflict within the context of one Nigeria.

While in Lagos, Congressman Lukens was interviewed by members of the Foreign Correspondents Corps based here. He reported on his talks with me and indicated that he did not fully agree with this Embassy on several matters, but he did not according to these newsmen then attribute the 'quick kill' quote to me.

Mr. Garrison was at one time stationed in Nigeria. I would have hoped that he remembered me well enough to know that it would not have been in character for me to have made such a remark.

This war is extremely complicated. It calls for much understanding by many people. I do not wish a false quotation to further complicate and confuse the issues.

Sincerely,
Elbert C. Mathews
American Ambassador
to Nigeria, Lagos UNQUOTE

Richard I. Phillips Acting Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Department of State

FORM DS-322A 8-63 DS-322A CONTINUATION SHEET UNCLASSIFIED Classification

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By MMARA Date VD 105

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Authority VN ) 95959

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FORM DS-322

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#### ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT CO. (NIGERIA) LTD.

P.O.Box 128 LAGOS

1152

Cable & Telegrams, ENTERPRISE LAGOS 12 Martins Street, Legos Telaphone: 20375

N

January 27, 1969.

The Hon. William Rogers, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Rogers,

Much play has been given in the Nigerian press to your meeting with the Foreign Minister of Equitorial Guinea at which conference you asked that permission be given for relief flights to resume. Obviously, your motives in making the request were humanitarian and not, as some people here believe, designed to achieve some imperialistic interest of the United States. Unfortunately, the entire situation here has been greatly misunderstood by the American people. This was obvious to me during my recent two months stay in the United States. Writing as a businessman who has spent eight years living and working in Nigeria, I would like to bring some aspects of the situation to your attention.

The Biafrans claim they are fighting merely for the right of self-determination. They were, they say, once a part of the Federation but were thrown out and large numbers were killed in the North. They have spent literally millions of dellars paying public relations firms in Europe and the United States to publicise the above as well as the fact that they are starving. To those who know a bit more about it the situation is quite different.

It is true that thousands of Ibos were killed in the North and some in the Mid-West when the latter area was retaken from the Biafran Army which had conquered it. Regrettable though the killings in the North were, they were also understandable in African terms and particularly as a response to the Ibo behavior between the first and second coup, over which eight-month period the Ibos de facto controlled the Nigerian Government. It is also true that the Ibos themselves have in blood just as cold killed hundreds, perhaps thousands, of non-Ibo Easterners and Mid-Westerne

The Ibo claim that they are merely fighting for the right of selfdetermination just does not hold up. Of the 13,000,000 people who
a lived in the Eastern Region when the Ibos claimed independence
5,000,000 were not Ibos but members of the Eastern Minerities

Directors R. B. Garpble (Managing), I. Q. Pritchard (Deputy Managing), J. A. Curran, Jr. A. B. Fefuriwa, S. A. Idr AMCPICAN

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### POL 1571 SENEG Department of State TELEGRAM

YN POL AT BIAFRA-NIGERA

PAGE 01 KINSHA 00538 2718222

ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15,10 13,5AH 02.5CSE 00,5CA 01,5R 01,0RM 03,USIE 00,NSA 02,

CIAE BOIDODE" BOIGPM BAIH BZINR BTIL BBINSC 181P BAIRSC BIISP

SS 20, AID 28, RSR 0 . SA 01,/138 W

R 271155Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA TO SECSTATE WASHDC 148 THE AMEMBASSY LAGOS AMEMBASSY DAKAR AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS KINSHASA 538

SUBJECT: SENGHOR STATEMENT ON NIGERIA

DEPT PASS USIA FOR IBS AND IPS

REGIN SUMMARY

DURING LENGTHY PRESS CONFERENCE SUNDAY MORNING. SENEGALESE PRESIDENT SENGHOR WAS ASKED TO GIVE HIS ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR. HE CALLED FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE TO BE FOLLOWED BY NEGOTIATIONS THAT WOULD BE BASED ON MUTUAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE ITEGRITY OF NIGERIA. HE SAID SENEGAL WOULD NOT RECOGNIZE BIAFRA BECAUSE THIS WOULD CONSTITUTE TAKING SIDES. END SUMMARY

2. SENGHOR SAID SENEGAL HAS ALWAYS HAD VERY CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH NIGERIA. BOTH THE LATE SIR ABUBAKAR TAFAWA BALEWA AND BIAFRA'S DR. AZIKWE WERE GOOD FRIENDS OF HIS. IN THE PASTA BOTH HAD ASKED HIM TO PREACH SUPPORT FOR THE FEDERATION TO THE OTHER SENGHOR SAID HE HAD AGREED TO SUPPORT FEDERAL TION BECAUSE AFRICAN STATES MUST BE LARGE TO BE ECONOMICALLY VIABLE: NIGERIA, LIKE CONGO (K) AND ALGERIA. IS VIABLE BECAUSE

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By MINARA Date

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POL 27 BIAFRA- MIGERIA

### Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 0: LAGOS 00695 271420Z

ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15,10 13, SAH 02, SA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 01, NSA 02,

ACDA 16, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC: 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, AID 28,/166 W 017025

R 271233Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4615
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS:
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY
AMCONSUL IBADAN:
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 695

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN MININFO EKE STATEMENTS

- FBIS N241635: JAN 24 IS: TEXT OF RADIO BIAFRA BROADCAST REPORTING STATEMENT BY MININFO EKE: THAT NEW NIXON ADMINISTRATION CAN QTE CORRECT PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S MISGUIDED POLICY AND REDEEM AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN NIGERIA AND BIAFRA FROM COMPLETE RUIN BY RUSSIA UNGTE ONLY BY ASCERTAINING TRUTH WHICH WILL CONVINCE ADMINISTRATION BIAFRA'S QTE STRUGGLE UNGTE NOT JUST THEORETICAL OR LEGALISTIC QUESTION OF SECESSION BUT GTE QUESTION OF PRESERVATION OF THOSE RIGHTS OF MAN BASIC TO AMERICA'S WAR OF NDEPENDENCE UNGTE DESCRIBES THIS AS QTE GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY UNGTE TO REESTABLISH AMERICAN IMAGE UNGTE:
- P. EKE ALSO COMMENDED NIXON ADMINISTRATION FOR EFFORTS TO GET RELIEF FLIGHTS FROM FERNANDO PO INTO BIAFRA AND WELCOMED FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO HOLD GTE BIAFRA DAY UNGTE TO RAISE FUNDS FOR BIAFRAN RELIEF. ON UK, EKE STATED GTE BIAFRA WILL NEVER ACCEPT ANY PEACE NEGOTIATIONS ORIGINATED FROM WILSON GOVERNMENT. HE CONDEMNED BRITISH PM'S CURRENT ATTEMPT TO STOP PEACE LOVING WORLD FROM BRINGING ABOUT CEASE FIRE UNGTE.

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Authority (M) 95 1503

By MMARA Date (15) 6



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PAGE 02 LAGOS 00695 271420Z

EM COMMENT: THESE LATEST IN CONTINUING RECENT EKE STATEMENTS ATTEMPTING TO GTE EXUDE CONFIDENCE UNGTE THAT NEW US ADMINISTRATION WILL BE PRO-BIAFRAN. MATHEWS

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By Whara Date 0 5 95

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

#### Department of State

**TELEGRAM** 

UNCLASSIFIED 164

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00696 271609Z

53 ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15, 10 13, NSA 02, SA 01, AID 28, ACDA 16, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04,

H( 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, RSR 01, 147 W

R: 271015Z JAN: 69:
FM: AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO: SECSTATE: WASHDC 4616
INFO: AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS:
USMISSION: GENEVA
USUN NY 818
AMCONSUL: IBADAN:
AMCONSUL: KADUNA.
USIA: WASHDC:

UNCLAS LAGOS 696

SUBJECT: - KADUNA RADIO COMMENTARY ON SENATE DEBATE ON NIGERIAN RESCLI-

I PERSONATE RESOLUTION IS TO GTE NOBOLY GUARRES: WITH THIS TO VICTIMS OF NIGERIAN WAR. NOBOLY GUARRES: WITH THIS TO VICTIMS OF NIGERIAN WAR. AGAINST GIVING RELIEF
TO REBELS TO RESE STARVATION IN AREAS: THEY CONTROL UNGTE.

(1)

2. HEAVILY CRITICIZES SENATOR KENNEDY, DESCRIBING HIM AS OTEL TOO PARTISANI UNGTEL TO APPRECIATE CAUSE FOR WHICH NIGERIAN FIGHTS, TO BELOBUECTIVE, TO REMEMBER PRESENT US QTELOF WHICH HE HOPING TO BE PRESIDENT AND WHICH HIS BROTHERS SERVED AND IN END GAVE UP THEIR LIVES, IS FRUIT OF

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 00696: 271609Z

SACRIFICES SUCHI AS: NIGERIANS ARE TODAY MAKING UNGTE. ACCUSES KENNEDY OF NOT WANTING TO SEE NIGERIA GTE SOW SEEDS OF GREATNESS: UNGTEL AND OF WANTING US TO GET DEEPLY INVOLVED IN WAR THROUGH USING GTE EVERY DIPLOMATIC MEANS TO BOTH SIDES: (KENNEDY GUERSE-FIRE ... AND END TO SUPPLY OF ARMS TO BOTH SIDES: (KENNEDY GUOTED) QUOTE. STATES THAT THIS TIME, HOWEVER, KENNEDY CHALLENGED BY GTE MORE OBJECTIVES SENATORS: WHO KNOW WHAT THEY ARE DOING AND REALLY UNDERSTAND DANGERS IN REBELLIONS: LIKE OUUKWUS, MOTIVATED BY GREED AND LUST FOR DOWER. THESE PEOPLE, FORTY-FIVE OF THEM TABLED RESOLUTION DEMANDING NIGERIANS. AND THIS INCLUDES REBELS, BE LEFT ALONE TO SETTLE THEIR PROBLEMS WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE GTE. STATES THAT LEADERS ARE SENATORS: BROOKE AND PEARSON WHO GTE REALIZE DANGERS AND COMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE THAT HAVE BEEN BROUAGHT ABOUT BY AMERICAS INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL! AFFAIR OF PEOPLE OF VIETNAM. THEY WOULD NOT LIKE TO SEE THEIR COUNTRY REPEAT SAME MISTAKE UNGTE. PARTICULARLY PRAISES SENATOR BROOKES STATEMENT THAT HE HAS ALWAYS FAVORED GTE AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS: UNGTE. ACCUSES SENATOR BROOKES STATEMENT THAT HE HAS ALWAYS FAVORED GTE AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS: UNGTE. ACCUSES SENATOR BROOKES STATEMENT THAT HE HAS ALWAYS FAVORED GTE AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS: UNGTE. ACCUSES SENATOR BROOKES STATEMENT THAT HE HAS ALWAYS FAVORED GROTHERS HAD LIVED AND DIED. IN ORDER FOR WHICH HIS FAMOUS BROTHERS HAD LIVED BETRAYING CAUSE FOR WHICH HIS FAMOUS BROTHERS HAD LIVED AND DIED. IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE REBELLION AND SECESSION, TO ENCOURAGE MOST CRIMINAL OF CRIMES UNGTE. ENDS WITH STATEMENT THAT GTE US: IS VERY STRONG FORCE IN WORLD.

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By Whara Date 0 2 03

OF STATES OF STATES

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#### Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL 199

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00712 271625Z

49 ACTION AF 18

TNFO EUR 15. NEA 13.10 13. NSA 02. CIAE 00. DODE 00. GPM 04. H 02. INR 07.

L: 03, NSC: 10, P 04, RSC: 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 02, AID 28, SR: 01,

ORM 03.SCS: 04.SCA 01.RSR 01./166 W

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R 271420Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS:
TO SECSTATE WASHDE 4627
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS:
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMCONSUL IBADAN;
AMCONSUL KADUNA

CONFIDENTIA LILAGOS 712

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE TRANIAN DEMARCHE TO ETHIOPIA ON NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

I. WE UNDERSTAND FROM BRITISH HERE (PROTECT) THAT SHAH. IS CONSIDERING WRITING EMPEROR CONCERNING NIGERIAN CIVIL: WAR. APPARENTLY BRITISH EMBASSY TEHRAN BEING INSTRUCTED: TO SUGGEST TO GOI THAT SHAH!'S LEGAER TO HIM CONCENTRATE ON EXPRESSING SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR HIM'S EFFORT TO SECURE AGREEMENT ON LAND CORRIDOR ROUTES FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES. AND ON NEED FOR DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO REBEL; AREA.

2. BRITISH SUGGESTING SHAH USE DAU ALGIERS RESOLUTION AND HIM!S: CHAIRMANSHIP! OF DAU COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA AS PEG ON WHICH TO HANG LETTER. THEY ALSO HOPING SHAH WILL EXPRESS DESIRABILITY OUUKWU RESPOND CONSTRUCTIVELY TO HIM S EFFORTS. GP 4. MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL 2

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Authority VND 95 1503
BVMVARA Date VD 505

#### POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA

#### Department of State TFIFG

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 00717 271825Z

49 ACTION AF 18

ÍNFO EUR 15-10 13-NSA 02-CIAE 00-DODE 00-GPM 04-H 02-INR 07-L 03-

NSC 10-P1 04-RSC 01-SP1 02-SS: 20-SAH 02-AID 28-SR 01-ORM 03-

SCSE 00 SCA 01 RSR 01 /137 W

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R 271547Z JAN 69
EM AMEMBASSY LAGOS:
TO: SECSTATE: WASHDC 4631
INFO: AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS: ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN:
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN
AMEMBASSY PARIS:
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE: UNN
USMISSION USUN NY
USTA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 717

SUBJECT : - NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUPL JAN 26 AND 27

I. JAN 27 TIMES EDITORIAL QTE SHOW OF FORCE UNQTE POINTS TO LONG HISTORY OF GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN EG AND NIGERIA AND WELCOMES ESTABLISHMENT OF AMBASSADORIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES STATES THAT GTE WE NOTE WITH REGRET; HOWEVER, YOUNG NATION BEING SUBJECTED! TO MOST UNWARRANTED BULLYING BY US; OVER QUESTION OF USING TERRITORY AS BASE FOR RELIEF FLIGHTS OF ICRC UNQTE CALLS US ACTIONS QTE MOST ARROGANT OISPLAY OF NAKED POWER UNQTE AGAINST QTE SMALL SOVERIGN NATION WHO HAS! RIGHT TO GRANT OR REFUSE! ICRC PERMISSION TO OPERATE FROM ITS TERRITORY UNQTE CALLS ON QTE WORLD OPINION UNQTE TO CONDEMN QTE ATTEMPT BY US TO TERRORIZE AND INTIMIDATE AND THE SOVEREIGN BUT SMALL NATION, IF WE ARE NOT TO ENTER NEW AREA OF INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY UNQTE:

2. JAN 27 OBSERVER EDITORIAL QTE TELL THEM THE TRUTH UNGTE SAYS





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PAGE 02 LAGOS 00717 271825Z.

THAT US HAS GET PERSISTENTLY SUCCEEDED IN EXPLAINING AWAY ANY OVERT INVOLVEMENT OF ITS COUNTRY OR PROMINENT AMERICANS IN NIGERIAN CRISIS LUNGTE RECALLS THAT US REFUSED TO SELL ARMS TO NIGERIA BUT MANAGED TO EXPLAIN AWAY BIAFRAN USE OF US B. 26 TO BOMB PARTS OF NIGERIA BY DISCLAIM NIGERNOWLEDGET OF HOW GTE UNLICENSED SCRAP PLANE UNGTER BY DISCLAIM NIGER NOWLEDGET OF HOW GTE UNLICENSED SCRAP PLANE UNGTE SOVE BIAFRA UNGTE FUND. RAISING CAMPAIGN AND GTE REPORT FROM WASHINGTON HALL ISO SENATORS (SIC) TABLING MOTION EXPRESSING TRUTH THAT WE GREATLY DETEST THIS IDEA OF HUNTING WITH THE HOUND AND RUNNING WITH THE HARE UNGTE STAND UNGTE HAS DISAPPOINTED NIGERIANS AND US SHOULD BE TOLD GTE HE WHO IS NOT WITH US IS AGAINST US AND US NEUTRALITY IS CLANDESTINE SUPPORT FOR REBELS UNGTE.

9. POST AND SKETCH PRINTED REUTERS: REPORT THAT TWO OF THE FOUR C.97 S G.TE, MADEL AVAILABLE UNDITE TO JCA, REFUELED IN ABIDUAN OVER WEEKEND EN ROUTE TO SAD TOME.

4. IN SATURDAY PRESS CONFERENCE, MININFO ENAHORO MADE FOLLOWING POINTS, REPORTED IN PRESS: NIGERIAN AIR FORCE HAS STEPPED UP BOMBING OF ANTI-AIRCRAFT STES, AMMUNITION STORES AND OTHER MILITARY TARGETS IN UMUNITA. ONLY POST AND PILOT GIVE COVERAGE TO ENAHORO STATEMENTS ON US GITE ATTITUDES ON CRISIS UNGITE ENAHORO REPORTED TO HAVE SAID EMG COULD NOT RELY ON UST PRESS REPORTS AND OTHER WAS TAKING STEPS TO OBTAIN AUTHENTIC FACTS FROM US ON ISSUE UNGITE, AND NIGERIA WOULD GITE EXPRESS HER INDIGNATION AT APPROPRIATIONERS AND NIGERIA WOULD GITE EXPRESS HER INDIGNATION AT APPROPRIATIONERS THE STACE IT WAS NOW ALMOST OBVIOUS AMERICANS HAD SHIFTED FROM OFTE REPEATED REASON FOR GIVING AID TO REBELS FROM HUMANITARIANISM OPPOSED TO NIGHT FLIGHTS UNGITE BUT DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS COULD TAKE PLACE FROM ANY PLACE ALTHOUGH FMG PREFERRED THAT THEY BE STAGED

S. ALLI PAPERS: FEATURE! STORY THAT FMG MINISTRY OF INFORMATION HAS RETALIATED AGAINST BBC QTE DISCRIMINATION UNDTE AND PROBLAFRAN ATTITUDES IN ITS BROADCASTS BY SUSPENDING SOME BBC NIGERIAN FACTUITIES INCLUDING VOICE CASTS. TRAINING AND EXCHANGE PROGRAMS OF UNTIL NEW HEAD OF BBC INITIATES TALKS. . . AND THERE IS SATISFACTORY EVIDENCE THAT THEY INTEND TO BE FAIR IN COVERAGE UNGTE. BBC CORRESPONDENT NOT ASKED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY BUT HE WAS EXCLUDED FROM MININFO STATURDAY PRESS CONFERENCE. JAN 26 OBSERVER





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PAGE 03 LAGOS 00717 271825Z.

PRINTS LONG ATTACK ON BBC, TONE OF WHICH INDICATED IN ACCUSATION THAT BBC HAS ADOPTED QTE SLOGAN OF ARCH GERMAN NAZI LIAR, JOSEF GOEBBELS THAT GREATER LIEFYOU TELL, MORE PEOPLE ARE LIKELY TO BELIEVE YOU UNGITE IN ITS COVERAGE OF NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, JAN 27 TIMES: ALSO HAS EDITORIAL ATTACKING BBC AND SUPPORTING FMG RETALITATION AGAINST BBC.

6. ALL PAPERS: EXCEPT PILOT REPORT ARRIVAL JAN 26 OF FOUR-MAN DELEGATION FROM FRENCH PARLIAMENT, MADE: UP OF ACHILLE: FOULD, M. U. L. MASSOUBRE, M. BRUGNON AND DR. A. SAINT-PAUL. AT AIRPORT PRESS: CONFERENCE, GROUP DECLARED THEY WERE HERE TO ACQUAINT THEMSELVES: WITH NIGERIAN SITUATION AND TALK WITH OFFICIALS AS WELL AS: OTHER NIGERIANS. REPORTED TO BE SCHEDULED TO MEET GENERAL GOWON AND PERHAPS: VISIT VARIOUS PARTS OF NIGERIA INCLUDING GTE WAR FRONT UNQUE. MATHEWS:





# POL 27 BIAFRA- NIGERIA Department of State TFIFGRAN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ADDIS 00335 271951Z

ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15-10 13-NSA 02-CIAE 00-DODE 00-GPM 04-H 02-INR 07-1-03-

NSC 10,P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 20,USIA 12,AID 28,E 15,RSR 07,2157 W

R 271050Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8241 INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS AMEMBASSY MONROVIA AMEMBASSY ACCRA AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

CONFIDENTI, A LIADDIS ABABA 335

CORRECT ELD CO PLY (TEXT)

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

I . AMBASSADOR COX LIBERIA HAS INFORMED US HE DELIVERED MESSAGE HIM FROM TUBAMAN URGING MEETING CON-COMM DUA TO CONSIDER NEW APPROACH DUUKWU AND GOWON ON SETTLEMENT CIVIL WAR. HIM RESPONDED FAVORABLY AND PROMISED QUERY OTHER COMMITTEE MEMBERS. COX SAYS TUBMAN AND LIBERIAN STATE DEPT AS WELL AS NUMBER AFRICAN AMBASSADORS DAU BELIEVE OUUKWU NOW SEEKING END CONFLICT ON TERMS PROTECT BIAFRANS WITHIN NIGERIAN UNION. HOWEVER, THEY BELIEVE. MÉLUNABLE TAKE INITIATIVE AND MUST CREATE IMPRESSION SETTLEMENT BEING FORCED ON HIM BY OUTSIDE FORCES. COX BELIEVES MOST SERIOUS OBSTACLE PEACE NOW LIKELY BE F.M. G.
WHICH TAKING MUCH TOUGHER LINE THROUGH ITS AMBASSADORS
EVEN COMPROMISE OFFERED AT EARLIER ADDIS TALKS NOT LIKELY
BE RE-OFFERED AGAIN BY F.MG. G. IN HIS VIEW.

2 - AMBASSADOR AMONOD GHANA, HAS ALSO SAID CON COMM MEETING ZO ANDASSADOR ANGODO GRANA, HAS ALSO SAID CON COMM MEETING
LIKELY & AMONDO SPOKE TO HIM ON STATURDAY.

EMPEROR RETTERATED HIS INTENTIONPRESS FOR PEACE!

AND DESIRE START NEW OPEN DRIVE THIS PURPOSE AMONDO

SAYS ANKRAH PREPARED BACK HIM AND HE WILL BE AVAILABLE

CONFIDENTIAL 22

Authority WWD By MNARA Date C



CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ADDIS 00335 271951Z

FEBRUARY 16 FOLLOWING KENAY STATE VISIT AND ECA AND QUA MEETINGS FOR SESSION ADDIS OR WEST AFRICA IF HIM WISHES CALL MEETING. BOTH COX AND AMONOO SAID NO SITE AND NO TIME FOR MEETING HAVE AS YET BEEN SUGGESTED BY HIM. HALL

CONFIDENTIAL

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Authority WN 05 1503

By MMARA Date 05 105



CONFIDENTIAL 964

PAGE 01 ADDIS 00335 271307Z

ACTION AF 18

THEO EUR 15 NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04. H 02, INR 07.L 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, AID 28, E 15, RSR 01, 157 W

R 271050Z JAN 69 FM: AMEMBASSY ADDIS: ABABA TO SECSTATE: WASHDC 8241 INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS: AMEMBASSY MONROVIA AMEMBASSY ACCRA AMEMBASSY LONDON: AMEMBASSY CONTON:

C. O. N. F. I. D. E. N. T. I. A. L. ADDIS ABABA, 335

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

T. AMBASSADOR COX LIBERIA HAS INFORMED US: HE DELIVERED MESSAGE HIM FROM TUBMAN URGING MEETING CON-COMM OUA TO CONSIDER NEW APPROACH OUNKWO AND GOWON ON SETTLEMENT CIVIL WAR. HIM RESPONDED FAVORABLY AND PROMISED QUERY OTHER COMMITTEE MEMBERS. COX SAYS TUBMAN AND LIBERIAN STATE DEPT AS WELL AS NUMBER AFRICAN AMBASSADORS OAU BELIEVE OUNKWO NOW SEEKING END CONFLICT ON TERMS PROTECT BIAFRANS WITHIN NIGERIAN UNION. HOWEVER, THEY BELIEVE AND HOWSTERMS BOTTOM SETTLEMENT BEING FORTFOLHON HIVBBSQTATSIDE#FORCES. COX

CEVES#MOST, SERIOUS: OBSTACLE: PEACE! NOW LIKELY OW F.M. G.
WHICH TAKING MUCH: TOUGHER! LINE! THROUGH! ITS: AMBASSADORS.
ZAENECOMPROMISE! OFFERED, AT EARLIER! ADDIS TALKS NOT LIKELY.
BE RE-OFFERED! AGAIN: BY F.MG. G. IN! HIS VIEW.

2. AMBASSADORI AMONDOI GHANA, HAS ALSO SAID CON COMMI MEETING

FABWKYFTLMONOD#SPOKE TO HIM ON SATURDAY.
EMPEROR REITERATED HIS INTETION PRESS YXFTWXLE #
AND DESIRE START NEW OPEN DRIVE THIS PURPOSE. AMONDO
SAYS ANKRAH PREPARED BACK HIM AND HE WILL BE AVAILABLE.

CONFIDENTIAL!

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Authority WN ) 95 950

By MMARA Date 0 5 6



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PAGE 02 ADDIS 00335 271307Z

FEBRUARY 16 FOLLOWING KENAY STATE VISIT AND ECA MID OUA MEETINGS FOR SESSION ADDIS OR WEST AFRICA IF HIM WISHES CALL MEETING. BOTH COX AND AMONO SAID NO SITE AND NO TIME FOR MEETING HAVE AS YET BEEN SUGGESTED BY HIM. HALL

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED.
CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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NOFORN:

VIEW ON BIAFRA SUBUECT

REF PARIS 776 AND CONDON 632 (BOTH NOTALI)

T. DURING CONVERSATION WITH QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR NON-FRENCH AFRICA JANUARY 21 (GUEURY) PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE FOR LONDON, EMBOFF LEARNED THAT FRENCH HAVE APPROACHED HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY WITH TWO-STEP PROPOSALIFOR RESOLVING RELIEF PROBLEMS. FIRST STEP IS FOR HOUPHOUST TO APPROACH OUCKWU TO RENEW AND CLARIFY PROPOSAL FOR WATER ROUTE TO OGUTA. IF THIS NOT ACCEPTED BY OUUKWU OR LAGOS, NEXT STEP WOULD BE TO PROPOSE THAT LAND ROUTE BE OPENED UNDER SUPERVISION BALANCED GROUP OF AFRICAN STATES (E.G. IVORY COAST) NIGER, KENYA, TANZANIA, WITH POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION HALLE SELASSIE TO PROVIDE LINK WÎTH OAU). WE ARE UNSUREFOR WHERE HPUPHOUET'S CONTACT WITH OUUKWUFSTANDS BUT GUBURY SAID QUAI NOT YET READY ANSWER QUESTION AMBASSADOR PUT TO DEBREI JAN 4 ABOUT STATUS THEIR

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PLAN FOR RESOLVING RELIEF PROBLEM. WE EXPECT THAT HOUPHOUET HAS DISCUSSED THIS WITH DIORI AND POSSIBLY OTHER ENTENTE AND OCAM MEMBERS DURING RECENT MEETING THESE GROUPS. DIORI APPROACH TO LAGOS PARALLELING HOUPHOUET APPROACH TO DUKWU WOULD NOT BE FIRST TIME THIS TACTIC TRIED AS MEANS RESOLVING NIGERIAN CONFLICT.

3. QUAL HAS PROMISED INFORM US AS SOON AS THEY HAVE FIRM

GP-2. SHRIVER

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

S/S 459

January 26, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY KISSINGER THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Nigerian Civil War

The Secretary has suggested that you may wish to see the enclosed draft memorandum entitled "Nigeria-Biafran Civil War". The Secretary said that, although the President had asked for a memorandum on this subject, he doubts that the President would wish to read all of the attached.

PER Sufficient DATE 6/14/76
PER Sufficient OFFICE AFW
FABRE FOI CASE NO. 620370 - Howe

Benjamin H. Read Executive Secretary CWM

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Enclosure:

As stated.

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nigeria-Biafran Civil War

I. USG Efforts to Overcome Obstacles to Increased Nigeria/Biafra Relief Effort

Since the inception of famine in Nigeria and Biafra, the US Government has taken a leading role in financing and supporting the international relief effort on both sides of the fighting lines. We have thus far contributed \$23.7 million in cash, food and medical supplies to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), UNICEF and to American voluntary agencies engaged in this international effort. This amount, combined with the \$6.4 million in private American contributions, comes to \$30.1 million and constitutes about 60% of the total international relief effort. Some 1.8 million people are being fed in Biafra and some 850,000 in Federal areas.

The basic obstacle to increasing food deliveries to the tiny enclave (40 x 70 miles) still held by Biafra is political rather than inadequacy of supplies or availability of transport. Under wartime circumstances, a modicum of cooperation from both sides is necessary to gain access to the needy. To varying degrees, neither the Nigerian Government nor the Biafran regime, fighting a total war, has been willing to agree on workable compromise relief proposals at the expense of what they deem political essentials. Despite many efforts, it has not yet been possible to obtain the agreement of both sides on land and air routes which would permit sufficient supplies to reach the suffering.

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#### USG Actions

- 1. We are constantly pressing both sides privately and publicly to subordinate the political problem to agreement on relief routes.

  We are strongly supporting the efforts of other governments and the ICRC toward the same end.
- 2. At the present time, we are pressing a proposal put forward to the two sides by the Emperor of Ethiopia to include daylight airlifting of supplies into an airport in Nigerian hands and the onward transport of those supplies by truck into Biafra through a transfer point in no man's land. (Because of the role of the Emperor, this proposal remains a closely held secret.) The Nigerians have accepted the proposal in principle and agreed to send an emissary to Addis Ababa to work out the details. The Biafran reply, however, was evasive and ignored the Emperor's suggestion to send an emissary.
- 3. A second proposal developed by the British, Canadians and ourselves for a land corridor through the relatively inactive northern front and also sponsored by the Emperor at the same time is in the same status.
- 4. We are urging the Emperor to keep up the pressure by sending an Ethiopian emissary to both sides to press for acceptance of both (2) and (3).

The ICRC Airlift - The US-supported ICRC night relief airlift from Fernando Po had delivered more than 6,670 tons of relief supplies into Biafra before it was terminated on January 6 by the Government of

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Equatorial Guinea (GEG). Prior to the termination, we offered four C-97G cargo aircraft to the ICRC for use in this airlift. In my talk with the GEG Foreign Minister last week, I stressed the urgency of resuming these flights and strongly urged the GEG to permit a 60-day temporary resumption pending negotiations between it and the ICRC. Since the failure of the GEG to receive adequate payment from the ICRC for the use of its facilities is part of the problem, we have also informed the ICRC of our willingness to help financially if necessary. The ICRC representative has now gone to Fernando Po with instructions to seek the immediate resumption of night flights without awaiting the conclusion of negotiations. We are urging the Foreign Minister to return to Fernando Po as soon as possible.

The Sao Tome Airlift - We are also supporting the other international relief airlift into Biafra operated by several church organizations from the Portuguese island of Sao Tome. It has delivered more than 10,000 tons of food in nightly flights. We have made available four C-97G cargo aircraft to American church groups involved to increase this airlift.

Alternate Routes - We are continuing to search for alternate means and routes of getting more relief supplies into Biafra. The present airlift is clearly inadequate, particularly with the current suspension of ICRC flights.

1. We are pressing the Biafrans to accept daylight flights which would increase the amount of supplies delivered. We continue, however, to regard

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- a land corridor as necessary to really meet the need.
- 2. The FMG has publicly affirmed its willingness to agree to a land corridor. The Biafrans have rejected past land proposals, although they have recently countered with an intricate proposal for a combined water-land route utilizing the Niger River. We regard the Biafran plan as unworkable, since it is designed to screen and protect its major airfield at Uli, the principal target of Federal military action.
- 3. We are working on the details of other relief routes, including another overland supply route based on the port of Calabar and the use of Port Harcourt as the staging area. Hostilities in the area do not make this plan practicable at the moment but may in the future. In the meantime we are stockpiling relief supplies at Port Harcourt with a target of 15,000 tons.

### Other USG Actions

- 1. Over 31,000 tons of US food have been delivered and 20,000 tons of US and other donations are now stockpiled in the Federal area and on the Islands of Fernando Po and Sao Tome. An additional 42,000 tons of PL-480 food have been approved and are en route for arrival in February, March and April.
- 2. At our urging, the ICRC is proposing to the Biafrans a comprehensive international on-the-spot assessment of their food needs with American participation.
- 3. A USG=supported mass measles-smallpox vaccination program is being undertaken on both sides.

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- 4. USG-supplied hospital equipment and services are being arranged for use in Port Harcourt and other war-torn areas.
- 5. AID is completing a proposal to assist ICRC/FMG trucking and transport operations.
- 6. At our urging the ICRC has called a meeting of relief experts in Geneva on January 27 to review food requirements and to coordinate transport delivery and distribution plans. AID will participate in this conference.

7.We are planning new contributions to the ICRC and new food authorizations for delivery between April and June.

II. U.S. Actions to Bring About Settlement of Nigerian Civil War

Only an end to the hostilities will permit all those in need to be reached by the relief effort. While continuing our efforts to intensify the present relief effort, therefore, we have been simultaneously urging an end to the fighting as the only way to save most of the lives now threatened.

From the beginning of the crisis, we have been in close and frequent touch with African and other nations seeking ways and means of ending the hostilities and promoting a negotiated settlement.

We welcomed the OAU's action in September 1967 in setting up a consultative committee to try to resolve the conflict within the framework of one Nigeria. Meanwhile, the Commonwealth Secretariat at London began actively to try to promote a negotiated settlement. We also supported

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this initiative and encouraged the negotiations held under its auspices in Kampala, Uganda in May 1968. Both parties attended that conference but it resulted in a deadlock.

With the failure of the Kampala talks, the OAU Consultative Committee reactivated itself and called both sides to a meeting in July 1968 in Niamey, Niger. We again supported the Niamey talks, but no progress was made except for a decision to adjourn the talks to Addis Ababa.

With our full public and private support, the Emperor of Ethiopia presided over negotiations at Addis from August 5 to mid-September. A number of significant concessions were made by the Federal Government during the course of these negotiations in an effort to reach an agreement within the framework of one Nigeria. Its proposals were rejected by the Biafrans, however, who continued to insist on Biafran sovereignty.

Our efforts thus far have been unavailing. The strong position of the Federal Government and the large majority of other African governments that this is an internal conflict and the similarly strong position of the Biafran Government that its sovereignty is not negotiable have thwarted negotiations to date. However, we are continuing our diplomatic efforts to end the fighting:

- (a) We are actively urging both sides toward the negotiating table--
- (b) We are strongly supporting similar efforts by the Emperor of Ethiopia and the OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria.
- (c) We have made clear our readiness on several occasions to support any initiative which offers any hope of a peaceful settlement.

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(d) We are actively consulting with the British and other concerned governments on further steps that we might take both directly, with others and through others to create the atmosphere and the context in which a political settlement might be achieved.

AF - Ambassador Moore (draft)

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SUBJ: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP JANUARY 25

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ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY TOWARD NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR. SKETCH
EDITORIAL TITLED "INCAUTIOUS FIRST STEP", AFTER STATING "FIRST
IMPRESSIONS HAVE QUALITY OF REMAINING INDELIBLE". CRITICIZES
"PRESSURE US PUTTING ON EG" TO LIFT BAN ON ICRC RELIEF FLIGHTS.
CALLS EG REASONS FOR BANNING FLIGHTS "SOUND" AND PERFECTLY WITHIN RIGHTS OF SOVEREIGN NATION. OPINES THAT US SHOULD PUT ITSELF IN PLACE
OF EG AND ASK IF US "IN SAME SITUATION, WOULD TAKE KINDLY TO EXTERNAL UNDUE INFLUENCE THAT WOULD COMPROMISE HER SOVEREIGNTY, SUBTRACT FROM HERE NATIONAL STATUS AND INJURE HER NATIONAL PRIDE.
THESE AND THE MAJOR FACT THAT SHE (US) PROFESSES TO SUPPORT ONE NIGERIA. ARE ISSUES BEFORE INCIPIENT NIXON ADMINISTRATION. POST

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MUST KNOW MUCH MORE HOSTILE IN TONE POST SAYS WHEN NIXON ELECTED "IT WAS SUPPOSED IN VARIOUS CIRCLES THERE MIGHT BE SOME RELIEVING CHANGE IN AMERICA'S NOTORIOUS FOREIGN POLICY • • CONTRARY TO EXPECTATION. THREE DAYS OF 37TH PRESIDENCY (SIC) HAS REVEALED BRUTAL TRUTH THAT IF ANY PART OF WORLD MAY BE SPARED FROM AMERICAN MEDDLESOMENESS CERTAINLY THAT PART CANNOT BE AFRICA. PROCEEDS TO CRITICIZE US REQUEST TO EGG TO LIFT BAN ON ICRC FLIGHTS STATING "IT COULD NOT HAVE ESCAPED USE THAT ICRC FLIGHTS TO REBEL-HELD AREAS ARE NOT AUTHORIZED ACT IN ANOTHER COUNTRY IS OPEN DEFINANCE OF THAT COUNTRY "OPINES "MORALITY HAS LOST ITS VALUE YOUNG GEG RESPECTABLE BLACK GOVERNMENT TRYING TO TEACH MURDEROUS TURPID WHITE AMERICA AND HER HIRELINGS A LITTLE MORAL LESSON BUT MORALITY HAS NO PLACE IN MIND OF SATANIC." WARNS EG THAT TO EXPECT SYMPATHY FROM AMERICA "FOOLHARDY • • WHATEVER HER REASONS AMERICA ON SIDE OF REBELS." STATES THAT IF US CRUSHED FOUR YEAR REBELLION IN DAYS OF LINCOLN NIGERIA WILL ALSO CRUSH ITS REBELLION OBSERVER CRITICIZES "DEFINITE PLANS BY ABOUT 120 SENATORS (SIC) TO TABLE BILL ON NIGERIAN CRISTS AND DEMAND USG

REBELS. BEHIND: THIS: MOVE IS: EDWARD! KENNEDY." ALLEGES THAT REASONS;
FOR RESOLUTION ARE TWO-FOLD - AMERICAN FEELING: THAT NIGERIA MOVING:
TOO MUCH TOWARDS: RUSSIA AND! SECONDLY, AMERICAN FEELINGS: TOWARD: "SO CALLED STARVING: MASSES OF BIAFRA" HAVE BEEN SO AROUSED: THAT MOST
AMERICANS NOW FEEL! USG MUST TAKE "MORE POSITIVE STAND IN NIGERIAN!
CIVIL WAR." STATES THAT "IRONY OF CASE IS THAT THESE FEARS GROUNDLESS:

SAYS NIGERIA NO NEARER COMMUNISM THAN IN 1960 AND WHILE RUSSIA HAS HELPED NIGERIA MORE DURING CRISIS THAN ANY OTHER WORLD POWER, THIS WE ATRIBUTE TO REFUSAL OF TRADITIONAL FRIENDS OF NIGERIA, TO COME TO HER AID IN PERIOD OF CRISIS. ADDS THAT "ON ASPECT OF HUMANITARIA. NISM, WE ARE SURPRISED THAT SAME PEOPLE WHO ARE CONTRIBUTING DIRECTLY TO DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF VIETNAMESE DAILY, CAN HAVE GUTS TO ASK WHY NIGERIA'S FEDERAL FORCES ARE CONTRIBUTING TO DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF SARE CONTRIBUTING TO DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF SARE CONTRIBUTING TO DEATH OF STARRAN REBELS IN CIVILIWAR SPARKED OFF BY THE REBELS. RESTATES FMG'S AGREEMENT TO OPEN LAND CORRIDORS FOR "MASSIVE" RELIEF SUPPLIES. VIEW SUPPORTED BY INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER TEAM IN NIGERIA' POSSIVE WE SPRESSING HOPE "AMERICANS WOULD THINK TWICE BEFORE FALLING INTO CLUTCHES OF REBELS AND STOP CRYING WOLF WHERE THERE IS NONE."

2. IN CONTRAST, POST AND TRIBUNE CARRY NEWS ARTICLES, BASED ON USIS PRESS RELEASE, WHICH PRESENTS REASONED VIEW, WITH NUMBER OF QUOTES FROM SENATOR BROOKE, CONCERNING CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA. POST HEADLINES "STAY OUT NIGERIAN CRISTS US

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 00688 251426Z

SENATOR PLEADS" AND TRIBUNE "US SENATOR SEEKS MORE AID TO NIGERIAM"

3. MOST PAPERS REPORT FMG ANNOUNCEMENT THAT FMG AND GEG HAVE AGREED TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL.

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SUBJECT'S NEW NIGERIAN COMMENTS ON US MAGAZINE ATTACKHON VATICAN

FRONT PAGE: NEWS ARTIECE: IN JAN. 25! NEW NIGERIAN QUOTES "CHURCH AND STATE" REPORTEDLY AN "INFLUENTIAL NEGRO CHURCH MAGAZINE: IN THE UNITED STATES" AS ROUNDLY CONDEMNING ROMANICATHOLIC CHURCH S. SUPPORT FOR BEALS. AND ITS ATTEMPTS FORCE USG TO RECOGNIZE AND SUPPORT BEBLES. CHURCH AND STATE REPORTEDLY CLAIMS THAT JUST AS CARDINAL SPELLAMNI GOT US BOGGED DOWN, IN VIETNAM' THE VATICANI AND CARITAS NOW TRYING MOVELUS FROM NEUTRAL POSTITION TO OPEN SUPPORT FOR BIAFRAM TASK FORCE AT STATE DEPT. WHICH IS "OSTENSIBLY WORKING FOR 'BIAFRAM' TASK FORCE AT STATE DEPT. WHICH IS "OSTENSIBLY WORKING FOR 'BIAFRAM' RELIEF, BUT ONE WONDERS WHAT ELSE IT MAY BE DOING TO ACCORDING "CHURCH AND STATE", TASK FORCE WAS ESTABLISHED AS RESULT PRESSURE ON THE WHITE HOUSE FROM "THE CATHOLIC CONFEDERATION" "CHURCH AND STATE" ALSO QUOTED AS SAYIN THAT NIGERIAN WAR WOULD BE OVER EXCEPT FOR FRENCH AID TO "BIAFRAM" THAT NIGERIAN WAR WOULD BE OVER EXCEPT FOR FRENCH AID TO "BIAFRAM" THAT NIGERIAN WAR WOULD BE OVER EXCEPT FOR FRENCH AID TO "BIAFRAM" THAT NIGERIAN WAR WOULD BE OVER EXCEPT FOR FRENCH AID TO "BIAFRAM" CATHOLIC STATE BEHOLDEN TO FRANCE" IN GUEBBEC.

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SUBUS HIM STATEMENT ON NIGERIA

AT BANQUET HONORING NETHERLANDS QUEEN JULIANA JAN 23 HAILE SELASSIE INCLUDED IN TOAST FOLLOWING STATEMENT ON NIGERIA:

GTELINIOUR CONTINENT IT IS: WITH HEAVY HEART THAT WE SEE HOSE TILITIES CONTINUE IN NIGERIA. OUR UNFLAGGING EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT CESSATION OF CIVILIWAR IN THIS SISTER AFRICAN COUNTRY WHERE INNOCENT BLOOD IS CONTINUOUSLY BEING SHED HAS NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL SO FAR. THOUGH THIS MATTER HAS DEEPLY GRIEVED US, WE SHALL WITHOUT DESPAIR TO DO OUR UTMOST TOGETHER WITHOUT DESPAIR TO DO OUR UTMOST TOGETHER BRING ABOUT RECONCILIATION BETWEEN TWO SIDES SO THAT PEOPLES OF THIS AFRICAN NATION WILL BE ABLE LIVE IN PEACE AND TRANQUILITY TO BUILD TOGETHER THEIR GREAT COUNTRY FOR THEIR GOOD AND WELL BEING

ANDI GREAT CAUSEI OF AFRICAN UNITY WITH HELPI OF ALMIGHTY WEI PRAY THAT HARDSHIPS AND SUFFERINGS OF OUR BROTHERS WILL SOON BE OVER

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## **DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

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-/-	PASS N	نحر	The report is dated January 20, 1969, and was releas	ed in Lagos at	
	5	6	1100 GMT on January 22, 1969.		
			A summary of the report was provided in Lagos telegr	am 515, dated	
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Page 1 of 7 Encl. No. 1 A- from Lagos

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- 1. The report by the Observers from Canada, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom, dated 25 November 1968, stated that the Observers' stay in Nigeria was scheduled to end on 14 December 1968. On 6 December 1968, however, the Federal Military Government (FMG) requested the countries involved, and the Secretary General of the United Nations (UN) and the Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), to extend the stay of the Observers until such time as might be determined by the FMG unilaterally or by mutual consultation with the governments and organisations concerned.
- 2. The governments of the four countries agreed to the request and an agreement was also reached with the Secretary General of the UN according to which the Observers remained in Nigeria. This report gives an account of the activities of the observers representing Canada, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom during the period 26 November 1968 13 January 1969.
- 3. During this period the observers visited each division in turn, leaving a small group in Lagos on standby. They also visited the Prisoners of War in Lagos. At Annex 'A' is a list of the places visited and the composition of the teams. Procedures followed were as outlined in previous reports and trips included visits to troop positions, camps for displaced persons, hospitals, orphanages, food distribution centres and civil administrators. Members of the press were free to accompany the observers and did so on all but the second trip to the Third Division.

#### FIRST NIGERIAN DIVISION

INTRODUCTION

- 4. The First Nigerian Division was visited twice during the period. From 26 to 30 November 1968 a team visited ENUGU, NUSKKA AND OKIGWI. During the period 17 to 20 December 1968 all the observers visited the Division. This group split into two teams, one covering the area from AWKA to OKIGWI, the other visiting ABAKALIKI, AFIKPO, UWANA, USUKPAN and the area south of the ABAKALIKI-ENUGU road.
- 5. The observers found that there is continued progress being made in the return to normal life in the area. The Civil Administration and the Red Cross appear to have the problems of displaced persons and malnutrition well in hand. Markets are operating. Many more schools are scheduled to re-open in January 1969. The Catering Rest House in ENUGU should re-open in January for businessmen returning to their offices and factories; some are already in the town. The State Administration is considering a suggestion by the observers that the civilian mail service be resumed to expedite the return to normal conditions and to assist the inhabitants locate missing relatives.

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Authority WN 05 1503

By Mr. Ara Date 0 5 65

Page 2 of 7 Encl. No. 1 A- 46 from Lagos

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- 6. The State Administration is introducing a plan to record and care for buildings and property in ENUGU until such time as the owners return. A system of licensing traders is in effect for the purpose of limiting the number of outside traders who can do business in the area until such time as the local traders have had an opportunity to return and get re-established.
- 7. The Federal troops continue to assist displaced persons but their work in this respect has been greatly reduced because of the decrease in the number of displaced persons appearing in the Federally held areas and the increased capacity of the Red and the Civil Administration.

### SECOND NIGERIAN DIVISION

- 8. A team visited BENIN, ASABA and ONITSHA in the Second Division's area during the period 7 to 10 December 1968.
- $9_{\bullet}^{4}$  The team visited the camps for displaced persons in ONITSHA and ASABA and found them satisfactory, with little change.
- 10. The circumstances surrounding the eviction of the Red Cross team from ASABA were investigated as the Army appeared to have been concerned. These investigations indicated that the situation was the result of a clash of personalities not involving the Army, which reached a point where the local Commander had to direct the team to leave in order to preserve order. The Army now provides medical assistance to the camp and the Rehabilitation Commission has assumed the responsibility for feeding some 8000 people in ASABA.
- 11. The team spent a morning with the State Commissioner for Reconstruction and Rehabilitation in BENIN. Visits were made to the displaced persons camp, relief supply warehouses and to a hotel and bakery which the Commission had rented out in its capacity as caretaker for absent owners.
- 12. In checking to see what action is being taken to prepare for a possible sudden increase in the number of displaced persons mentioned in our last report, the team found that both the Army and the Rehabilitation Commission have plans and stocks of food for use in such an emergency. The team noted that the last few miles of the road to ASARA are in such poor condition that large scale movement on it would be difficult, particularly in the rainy season. As this road is the most direct route from LAGOS to the war affected area it would appear to be important to any plan to move food and medical supplies into this area.

#### THIRD MARINE COMMANDO DIVISION

13. Two visits were made to the area of the Third Division. During the period 25 to 29 November 1968 a team visited the CALABAR, ITU, IKOT-EKPENE, URUA INYANG Sector. During the period 28 December 1968 to 2 January 1969

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Page 3 of 7 Encl. No. 1 A- 14 from Lagos

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the observers visited PORT HARCOURT, ITU, IKOT-EKPENE, UYO, ABA and OKPALA. This latter trip had been planned for the week of 9 December 1968 but was postponed, first because of a lack of aircraft and then at the request of Army Headquarters because of a reorganisation occasioned by the death of a brigade commander. As this was a routine visit not connected with any particular allegation the observers agreed to defer the trip.

- 14. The observers were impressed by the progress that has been made in the treatment of malnutrition cases in the UYO, ITU, IKOT-EKPENE area. The situation is no longer in the emergency stage as it had been at the end of November. There is still a shortage of food to sustain the over 400,000 persons requiring assistance. Native foodstuffs are preferred, and available in other parts of the country, but considerable success was reported in obtaining acceptance of donated foods strange to Nigeria through, for example, the use of central cooking. Concern was expressed by the relief officials in the area about the possibility of an outbreak of measles which would be dangerous because of the weakened condition of the children recovering from malnutrition. Requests had been made for immunization equipment to forestall this eventually.
- 15. The team visited four camps for displaced persons each housing about 2000 persons as well as three kwashiakor centres for children and one orphanage during this trip. They were all well run. One major problem is the lack of work for the men in the camps.
- 16. Both the FMG and secessionists declared unilateral truces at short notice during the latter part of December: the FMG for the 21st and 25 of December and the secessionists for eight days beginning the 25th of December. The Commander of the Third Nigerian division claimed that his division had been attacked during this period. Discussions with front line commanders and a study of casualty reports indicated that fighting did take place during the period 20-31 December at points between ABA to OWERRI; that the secessionists had attacked on the 24th of December, the fighting extending into the 25th; and that the Federal troops temporarily lost some positions during these engagements. A certain amount of fraternisation evidently also took place in the divisional area during the same period. It appears to the observers that neither side really trusted the other to observe a truce.
- 17. It was reported that part of the fraternisation mentioned above involved an offer by some secessionist officers to surrender a group of about 350 the next day which the Federal officers took seriously. This surrender did not take place. The observers did interview a group of three officers, 42 soldiers and a journalist who had surrendered on another part of the front. They all looked reasonably well fed.
- 18. Discussions with the officials of the Rivers State indicate that work to restore the State to normal life is progressing. A Rehabilitation Committee similar to that of the Mid-West State is being set up to look after abandoned properties.

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Page 4 of 7 Encl. No. 1 A- 46 from Lagos

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19. On 14 December 1968 the observers met with the Chief of the Nigerian Air Force to discuss the protest by the International Committee of the Red Cross that the Red Cross Hospital at AWO-OMMAMA had been deliberately bombed and machine gunned on 9 December 1968, killing three and wounding others. At the meeting the observers asked for certain information relating to the time and place of the incident.

20. On 13 January 1969 some of the information requested was produced. The Air Force authorities took the position that the protest was incorrect in claiming that the "hospital buildings are distant from any military objective," as the area surrounding the airstrip is as much a target as the airstrip itself; it houses control and communications centres, stores, vehicles, anti-aircraft weapons and troops; and the hospital, being less than six miles from the airstrip is very close to, if not within, this general area. Therefore, while not admitting the allegation, the authorities did state that the hospital might have been hit accidentally owing to the speed of the aircraft together with the evasive action required to avoid anti-aircraft fire. From the information provided the observers were unable to come to any precise conclusion regarding the allegation.

#### PRISONERS OF WAR

21. The observers revisited the Prisoners of War at KIRIKIRI on 7 January 1969 and those at IKOYI on 9 January 1969. They also visited for the first time three women being held as Prisoners of War in the Women's Prison at KIRI-KIRI. The Prisoners of War appeared to be in reasonable health. The observers found that since their last visit an official of the Red Cross has been appointed to work with the Prisoners of War and he has visited the camps and distributed blankets and other comforts. Also an agreement with the FMG to enable the Prisoners of War to write and receive letters is about to be implemented and a Red Cross doctor and male nurse were to start work with the Prisoners of War the following week.

22. The observers found that little action had been taken to correct the other points remarked upon in the report of their first visit. The civil prison authorities remained responsible for the Prisoners of War. They had to accept all the Prisoners of War sent to them but neither they nor anyone else had the power to release or recommend the release of any of those already confined; as a result the number of Prisoners of War in KIRI-KIRI had doubled to 623 with a consequent increase in the overcrowding. Prisoners of War are not kept separate from civilian detainees. No special regulations exist to guide the prison superintendents on how to care for Prisoners of War; as a result the rules for civilian prisoners are applied even where they are not appropriate.

23. The observers consider that if the Nigerian authorities wish to follow in their entirety the rules of the Geneva Convention they must move the Prisoners of War to a separate camp run by the Army; they must permit freedom of movement within the camp and offer facilities for exercise even if this means providing armed guards; and they should set up a screening

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Page 5 of 7 Encl. No. 1 A- from Lagos

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organisation with the power to release those Prisoners of War who need no longer be confined and any persons who are not correctly classified as Prisoners of War.  $\dot{}$ 

24. A meeting was arranged with the Chief of Staff of the Nigerian Army on January 10, 1969 to discuss the situation. The Chief of Staff undertook to examine the observers' recommendations as a matter of urgency and promised that where feasible action to implement these recommendations would be started within one week. We understand that this has been done.

#### SUMMARY

25. In summary, the observers representing Canada, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom found during their visits from 26 November 1968 to 13 January 1969:

- (a) That nothing was seen or heard to change the observations made in our earlier reports that the troops of the Nigerian Army are adhering to the instructions in their "Code of Conduct";
- (b) That the malnutrition problems in the Federally held areas of the war zone, while still serious, are now under control;
- (c) That no conclusions could be reached about the alleged deliberate air attack on the hospital at AWO-OMMAMA;
- (d) That conditions in the Prisoner of War camps in LAGOS are improving but they have not reached the standards required by the Geneva Convention. A meeting has been held by the Federal Army to start action to correct this situation.

Major-General W. A. Milroy CANADA Colonel Alfons Olkiewicz POLAND

Major-General A. Raab SWEDEN Brigadier Sir Bernard Fergusson UNITED KINGDOM

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Page 6 of 7 Encl. No. 1 A- from Lagos

ANNEX 'A'
to Observer Team to Nigeria
report on activities
24 November 1968 - 13 January 1969

## SUMMARY OF VISITS

## 1. FIRST NIGERIAN DIVISION

(a) <u>26 - 30 November 1968</u>

ENUGU, NSUKKA and OKIGWI Colonel Olkiewicz, Lieutenant Colonel Cairns and Lieutenant Colonel Pinnington accompanied by Captain Yilma (OAU).

- (b) <u>17 20 December 1968</u>
  - (1) ENUGU, AWKA, OKIGWI Major General Raab and Colonel Olkiewicz accompanied by Dr. Jensen (UN).
  - (2) ENUGU, ABAKALIKI, AFIKPO, UWANA, USUKPAN and the area south of the ABAKALIKI-ENUGU Road. Major General Milroy, Brigadier Sir Bernard Fergusson, Major Tamm\* and Lieutenant Byczy.

## 2. SECOND NIGERIAN DIVISION

7 - 10 December 1968

BENIN, ASABA and ONITSHA

•Major General Milroy, Lieutenant Colonel Cairns and Mr. Kumanek accompanied by Dr. Jensen (UN) and Captain Yilma (OAU).

### 3. THIRD MARINE COMMANDO DIVISION

(a) <u>26 - 29 November 1968</u>

CALABAR, ITU, IKOT-EKPENE, URUA INYANG Major General Milroy, Brigadier Sir Bernard Fergusson and Mr. Kumanek.

(b) 28 December 1968 - 2 January 1969

PORT HARCOURT, ITU, IKOT-EKPENE, UYO, ABA and OKPALA Major General Raab, Major General Milroy, Colonel Olkiewicz, Lt. Col. Cairns and Major Tamm accompanied by Dr. Caulfield (UN) and Captain Yilma (OAU).

#### \* NOTE

Major C.E.S.T. Tamm replaced Lieutenant Colonel C. Areskoug as the Assistant Swedish Observer on 7 December 1968.

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Page 7 of 7 Encl. No. 1 A- from Lagos

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#### 4. PRISONERS OF WAR

#### (a) 7 January 1969

KIRI-KIRI
Major General Milroy, Major General Raab, Brigadier Sir Bernard
Fergusson, Colonel Olkiewicz and Major Tamm, accompanied by Mr. Gussing
(UN), Dr. Jensen (UN), Dr. Caulfield (UN), Captain Yilma (OAU)
and Mr. Lefgoum (OAU).

## (b) 9 January 1969

IKOYI

Major General Milroy, Major General Raab, Brigadier Sir Bernard Fergusson, Colonel Olkiewicz, and Major Tamm, accompanied by Mr. Gussing (UN), Dr. Jensen (UN), Dr. Caulfield (UN), Captain Yilma (OAU) and Mr. Lefgoum (OAU).

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TR XMB AIR	REF : a) Lagos 160; b) Lagos 450, para 2		
ARMY CIA NAVY  3 2C 5  OSD USIA NSA  34 10 3  PACI N.SC  24 6	Enclosed is the full text of the Fourth Interim Report of the representative of the Secretary-General to Nigeria on Humanitarian Activities.  The report was issued by the FMG's Ministry of Information on January 18, 1968. It is understood that the United Nations Secretariat also issued the report on January 17, 1968.		
0909 JAN 24 Pil 5 35 COPYFLO-PBR	Comment: Ref b) gave a brief account as published by the local newspapers. The report, in addition to specifically covering the period since the last report, issued on November 21, 1968, also summarizes activities during the entire four-month period since the Observers began operation in Nigeria at the invitation of the Federal Military Government. Ref a) reported the Observers' second visit to Kirikiri Prison where a number of prisoners of war are being held. This report criticizes the fact that POW's are being held in a civilian prison. Although stating that there is no evidence of maltreatment of the prisoners, the report notes that there is cause for concern, particularly because of the overcrowding and the fact that POW's are subject to much the same treatment as common law breakers. The report points to several improvements in POW treatment but expresses the hope that separate POW camps, under the direct supervision of the military, will be established in line with the Geneva Convention on treatment of POW's.		
A SAGA	The report reiterates that no evidence has been found of genocide, as defined by the UN Convention on this subject.  The report also reviews the Observer's findings on the state of the civilian population in the war areas; relief activities of various agencies; the FMG and the Army; and actions taken by the various states to protect and collect rent on properties in their area which were abandoned in 1966 and 1967 by persons from the former Eastern Region.  Enclosure: As stated  UNCLASSIFTED  MATHEWS  FORDEPT USE ONLY  TOTAL DOLL  TOTAL DOL		
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UN REPRESENTATIVE ISSUES FOURTH REPORT

FOURTH INTERIM REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO NIGERIA ON HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES

It has not been the practice to issue a report after each tour but to incorporate the findings of more than one visit in a series of Interim Reports. The first of these was released on 9 October, the second on 30 October and the third on 21 November 1968. The present report, in addition to setting out the observations of subsequent tours during 1968, is retrospective.

### Introduction

On 6 September 1968 the Federal Military Government of Nigeria addressed invitations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to the Organisation of African Unity and to the Governments of Canada, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom requesting them to send observers to Nigeria. The observers were invited to "visit all war affected areas and newly liberated areas, on the Federal controlled side, to witness the conduct of Federal troops - re charges of genocide, etc." with a view to ascertaining for themselves that contrary to some publicized reports, "there is no intentional or planned systematic and wanton destruction of civilian lives or their property in the war zone." It was also agreed that for the effective discharge of their duties the observers required complete freedom of movement and full access to persons and other relevant sources of information.

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The Representative of the Secretary-General to Nigeria on Humanitarian Activities was asked by the Secretary-General to undertake the observer task in addition to his other responsibility for a period of two months beginning mid-September. This has so far been extended at the request of the Federal Government for two further one-month periods.

On 22 September 1968 the Head of State and Commander in Chief received those Observers who had arrived in Lagos and, after briefing them on the background to the Nigerian conflict, explained the views of the Federal Government. Since that meeting the Observers have undertaken a series of visits to the three main fronts as well as to other parts of the country. The Representative of the Secretary-General, in his capacity as Observer, and his two assistants, have on occasion travelled with the representatives of the OAU, with members of the country Observer Team and sometimes alone. They have visited the First Division area of the northern front five times, the Second Division area on the narrower western front three times, and the Third Division area on the southern and eastern fronts six times, as well as going to other relevant places in Nigeria.

With only one significant exception, the facilities 'granted have at all times given the Observer complete freedom of movement to the fronts. The one delay was initially said to be due to lack of transport, subsequently to the death of a senior officer and a military reorganisation programme which made it impossible to arrange a tour at that particular time. The planned visit in fact took place the following week.

Transport in general continued to pose difficulties. The problem is essentially a logistical one, but if the Observer is to maintain his basic freedom of access to all places at all times, it is necessary that he have at his disposal air and land transport facilities whenever required.

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Apart from transport difficulties, it is evident that the method of operation imposes certain limitations. Although the Observer was on occasion exposed to sniper fire, visits almost always took place after military action had ceased. One important incident, that at Okigwi, was investigated four days after it occurred and a special report released eight days after the event. But in spite of the limitations imposed by the large number of places to be covered in so extensive an area, the relative brevity of the visits, and in some cases the problem of language, the Observer is of the opinion that his reports reflect substantially conditions throughout the near-affected areas during the period covered by the visits. From time to time incidents, which allegedly occurred prior to the Observer presence have been reported. Although these have been noted, the Observer did not feel that it was within his terms of reference or his competence to try to establish the facts of long past events.

#### Conduct of the War and Troops

It is not surprising that in the circumstances of a prolonged and bitter war the devastation was found to be extensive. Whether the damage was inflicted by the retreating or attacking forces was in many cases impossible to determine. Buildings, installations and communications had all suffered, including the important bridge across the Niger at Onitsha and the vital railway line from the north passing through the East Central State to Port Harcourt, Onitsha, Port Harcourt and Enugu, to name only some principal towns, had all suffered very severe damage: in Onitsha hardly a building remained unscathed. In a war situation, however, this might have to be considered inevitable, even to the extent of the deliberate destruction of village houses out of fear of their use by the eneny, as seen from both sides, or to provide materials for temporary troop positions. Surprisingly, a few towns and villages remained almost intact.

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The officers of the Federal Nigerian Army generally made a good impression, and the majority showed awareness of Nigeria as a multi-tribal society, and a genuine concern to establish good relations with the Ibo as well as the inhabitants of the Mid-West, Rivers and Southern Eastern States which had been affected by the war. There were many instances witnessed by the Observer which showed this attitude to be implemented as well as articulated. With only isolated exceptions, the officers evidently respected the military Code of Conduct issued by the Commander in Chief, and there is no doubt that they endeavoured to communicate its meaning to their men. Although the other ranks made a moderately well disciplined impression, they apparently, suffered in some cases from a lack of training.

During the period under review the Observer has found no evidence of genocide according to the accepted definition. 1/
Nor have any instances of the wanton destruction of life outside the heat of battle been confirmed, with the possible exception of the Okigwi incident.

In accordance with the original terms of reference which stated that "visits may be undertaken at their own instance or at the instance of the Federal Military Government on receipt of any international allegations about the conduct of Federal troops in any particular area", the Observer also investigated three special cases, the only official allegations made during the period. The first at Okigwi, on which a seprate report was published; the second at Urua Inyang where a purported mass killing was found to be without any basis in fact according to many local inhabitants interviewed; and the third which concerned the alleged bombing in early December of a civilian hospital some six miles from Ihalia Uli airstrip. The question of the bombing was at once referred to the Commanding Officer of the Nigerian Air Force who indicated recently that since there were important military installations in the area surrounding the /airstrip, civilian....

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Authority WN ) 95 95 3 By MM ARA Date 0 5 05 airstrip, civilian objectives might accidentally be hit in spite of the strict order issued to all Air Force personnel to avoid bombing non-military targets.

"In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
 (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the the Crime of Genocide, approved by the General Assembly on 9 December 1948 under Resolution 260 (III).

## Pfisoners of War and Civilian Detainecs

Although relatively few prisoners had been taken in the course of the war, a number were seen and interviewed at various places near the fronts as well as at Divisional and rear headquarters. The Observer also visited the prisons at Kirikiri and Ikoyi in Lagos where prisoners had been moved after interrogation and initial detention in the east. He had unreatricted access to them and was able to speak quite freely. Although the prisoners voiced a number of complaints, there was no evidence of maltreatment.

Some aspects, however, gave cause for concern. The care and custody of prisoners of war, once they had been moved away from the divisional areas, was assigned to the civil prison authorities and consequently prisoners of war were subject to much the same regime as common law offenders and civilian detainees. The limited prison facilities resulted in extrene overcrowding, and the available medical services were inadequate. Prisoners also lacked opportunities for exercise and spent too little time in the open. Finally, some even claimed that they had never been soldiers at all and objected to being considered prisoners of war.

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With the agreement of the Federal Military Government, the ICRC has lately intensified its traditional activities regarding prisoners of war. Not only has the Committee been able to contribute some material assistance, but it has offered the services of a full-time doctor to care only for the prisoners

of war. This has been welcomed by the Federal Government. The doctor is to be assisted by a male nurse who will also be concerned with treating other prisoners. In accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, the Federal Military Government and the ICRC have agreed that prisoners will be enabled to Send and

In spite of these potential improvements, the basic problem remains that it is more than undepirable that prisoners of war should be confined with civilian detainees and common law offenders. It is much to be hoped that separate POW camps under the direct supervision of the military authorities can be established in conformity with the provisions of the Geneva Convention. When these points were referred to the Army Chief of Staff, he at once promised to examine the situation and effect improvements.

The Observer (like members of the country Observer Team)
has not been permitted to visit detained civilians. He cannot
therefore report on their treatment or conditions. In some
Divisional areas, however, civilian detainees and former
detainees were met, and their condition seemed fair.
State of the Civilian Population

The pattern of the war has varied greatly in different sectors. Not only is this a case of certain towns being in Federal hands much longer than others, but in some places, e.g. Ikot-Ekpene, the front line has moved back and forth across the town more than once, and other important towns, e.g. Onitsha, Aba and Owerri have remained virtually in the front line for a long time. Consequently there has been no return to normal /conditions in these....

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conditions in these places. Elsewhere, however, as for example in Benin which was taken by Federal troops in September of 1967, there are few indications of the war.

Since the taking by Federal troops of Aba, Owerri and Okigwi last September, no major town has changed hands but the extensive rural areas between towns and the roads linking them have continued to be fought over. The consequence has been the total disruption of normal life not only in those towns recently taken and close to the front, but also throughout the murrounding rural areas. The vast numbers of displaced persons cannot be resettled or absorbed into their traditional communities while fighting continues around them.

The situation has been aggravated by ambushes and other incidents which have occured well behind the front lines.

At a place not many miles from Enugu, for example, the Observer was told that a local chief had recently been killed, allegedly for "collaborating" with the Federal authorities and relief agencies. So long as the fear of reprisals as well as fighting troops remains a reality, great numbers of rural people will prefer to remain in hiding in the bush, where they cannot be reached by relief agencies. The dropping of safe conduct passes which had earlier been effective in overcoming fear of the Federal forces has apparently not been practised on any scale in recent weeks.

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There were only limited signs of cultivation throughout many parts of the war-affected area in spite of the approaching planting season. But in many areas both in the north and south of the South Eastern State, which have been in Federal hands for over a year (Calabar was taken in October 1967), life in the rural areas at least looked close to normal.

Conditions in the principal towns varied from an apparently near pre-war situation in Benin to total evacuation in Onitsha. Certain dates are relevant to any discussion of the return to normal life. Federal troops entered Emugu and Asaba in October 1967, the same month that they took Calabar; Onitsha was taken in March 1968 (and Ikot-Ekpene for the first time); Port Harcourt fell in May 1968. The Observer found that, whereas the only civilians living in Onitsha were housed in a camp for displaced persons, the return to normal life was beginning in both Enugu and Port Harcourt. Enugu before the war had been an administrative centre and it has not exercised the same economic pull which exists in Port Harcourt where the speed of recovery has been demonstrably more rapid. But during a visit to Enugu in mid-December the electricity supply was functioning well and the main waterworks were about to be taken into use. Outside the town itself and along the approaches there was evidence of recent verge clearance, for which the Government was employing contractors as a means of stimulating the cash economy. Engineers were also said to be at work on the railway. However, the civilian population had not yet come back in large numbers. Many of the people in the town at the time were apparently from other parts of the country The presence of traders from northern Nigeria, for example, although perhaps beneficial in stimulating the economy and the return to normal life, suggested that the Ibo /koto (muan /were still wary ....

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were still wary of returning. In Port Harcourt, on the other hand, which before the war was the centre of a thriving oil industry, there were significant signs of returning life, following a currency exchange.

#### Abandoned Property:

During visits to various State capitals and large towns, the Observer was impressed by the efforts of the State administrations to ensure the preservation and protection of real property belonging to persons from the former Eastern Region, which had been abandoned during 1966 and early 1967. Having made enquiries in Lagos, Benin, Port Harcourt, Kano, Kaduna, Jos, Enugu and elsewhere, the Observer found that arrangements varied from state to state. In some, edicts of the Military Governor had been published formally in the State Gazette; in others provision for the operation was simply made in letters of instruction addressed, in most cases, to the Chairman of the State Rehabilitation Committee. Common to all, however, was the stablishment of a committee or the nomination of persons responsible for the listing of abandoned houses, for letting them at agreed rents, and for the collection of rents which were then deposited in a trust account. In certain areas this committee was entitled to permit the occupant of the property to deduct from the rental the amount required for repair and maintenance, in other cases the Committee itself accepted responsibility for the cost of repairs and charged these against rents received.

Progress to date varied considerably from state to state.

The Mid-West and Northern States seemed highly organized.

The Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Committee was responsible for the protection of properties in accordance with Edict

No. 16 of 1968 which had been operative since early last year.

In Benue Plateau State a separate Abandoned Property Committee

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was established in August 1968 and under the relevant Edict was "deemed to be the ragent of the owner of abandoned property in the State and required on return of the owner "to transfer to him the control and management of his property." In some places provision was explicitly made for legal relief in instances when the returning owner considered he had cause for action.

The Administration in Enugu had also taken steps to register abandoned property and during his most recent visit to Port Harcourt, the Observer learnt that the Rivers State Government was in the process of establishing a commission for the protection of abandoned property under the State Commissioner for Rehabilitation. The Commissioner had only a short time before he held consultations in Benin with the Chairman of the Mid-West Committee in the hope of adopting their methods where appropriate to conditions in the Rivers State. Although it would not be possible to assess the effectiveness of this operation throughout Nigeria until people return to their homes in large numbers, which is certainly not yet the case, the fact that a legal framework has been established to protect the interests of those concerned is impressive.

## Relief Activities:

The lack of people in the previously heavily populated major towns was in itself some indication of the numbers still unaccounted for, and in the rural areas it was even harder to form an estimate of how many had left. A good many were seen in camps for displaced persons throughout all parts of the war-affected areas. Camps were visited in the towns of Benin, Asaba, Onitsha, Enugu, Port Harcourt and Calabar and in many smaller places and rural districts. Conditions in most of the camps were relatively good and the delivery of relief supplies, as well as the availability

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Even so, food supplies were barely adequate for minimum needs and it should be recognized that if many of those still in hiding were to return to their settlements, or a major shift in the military situation occurred, the strain on the relief supply and distribution net would be beyond its present competence.

In addition to those in camps for displaced persons. a large number of people were being fed by the relief agencies at food distribution centres. It was estimated that a total of over 800,000 persons were receiving relief in Federal territory and about 50,000 medical treatment. The joint relief action organized by the Nigerian Red Cross and the ICRC is handled by 27 teams, disposes of some 300 motor vehicles and has the use of two DC-4 planes for some 150 flying hours every month as well as three ships (two of just over 500 tons and one 1500 ton vessel), which sail between Lagos and Calabar or Port Harcourt, in addition to a number of lighters, motor boats and ferries. According to the latest information available, by the end of December 1968, 26,500 tons of relief supplies had been distributed in Federally held Nigeria and it was estimated that by the end of February 1969 the total amount of relief brought in, including stocks at present in hand, would exceed 100,000 tons. At the same time, local produce was being purchased to the value of over £100,000 per month. Contributions to the relief effort had been received from the Nigerian Government and governments abroad, from many voluntary agencies and from international sources, including UNICEF which had contributed around 40 per cent of the supplies received to date. The World Food Programme was invited to participate in emergency relief in mid-November, and supply operations are about to begin.

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Relief activities in the field have been undertaken by the Army, the Nigerian Red Cross, the ICRC, the Nigerian National Rehabilitation Commission as well as other agencies. They appeared to co-operate well in almost all cases and where transfers of responsibility have occurred, these have been smooth. The logistical problems have been and continue to be formidable. In spite of complaints that supplies did not reach places on time or in sufficient quantity or of the right type, considering the circumstances of the operation, it was remarkable how much had been achieved. The improvement in nutritional and health conditions throughout many areas where starvation had been imminent or actual, was marked.

Considering too the difficulties in recruiting at short notice Nigerian and international staff of high calibre to work under unspecified conditions in remote places, it is hardly surprising that the Red Cross has been exposed to criticism. It is widely acknowledged that the relief personnel in general have shown dedication to their work and made remarkable achievements. In some few instances team members, with perhaps equally good intentions, found their lack of English an obstacle to meaningful communication, or the brevity of their assignment made it impossible for them to establish a satisfactory working relationship and find an appropriate role.

The experience of relief organization in Nigeria has nevertheless shown that it is possible to provide great numbers of people with a minimum diet and care once the necessary access exists. In most cases it is obvious that land transport provides the only effective means of distributing the large quantities of food required. This is particularly true when the staple is itself in short supply. Provided suitable land routes could be arranged, there is little doubt

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that supplies from within Nigeria in addition to those from abroad would be sufficient to meet the needs of the ill-nourished and sick in all parts of the country affected by the war.

In special circumstances the use of an airlift has proved successful, as was the case with the UNICEF helicopter operation from Calabar to Uyo. Since its beginning in mid-September 1968, it moved over 1200 short tons of goods and was able to maintain a vital supply line at that emergency stage of relief activity. Although the helicopter fleet at one point consisted of five ships, three with a capacity of one ton and two of  $1-\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 tons, never more than three were operational at any one time, and at the end of the year only one plane was flying, due to the difficulties of operating helicopters under these conditions.

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AGR		FROM : American Embassy - Lagos DATE: January 23, 1969	
INT	<u> </u>	SUBJECT: Forwarding Anti-US Resolution of NTUC	
TR	).MB A	REF : [agos 464 of January 19, 1969	
ARMY			_
3 4	USIA N	Attached is a copy of the resolution distributed at the meeting held by the communist NTUC in front of its headquarters January 18, at which the planned anti-US demonstration was called off	
	1 1	According to the Embassy's Labor Assistant, the crowd numbered possibly	
	ni-	300, carried red flags and anti-US placards, and indicated approval of the resolution by a show of hands.	
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8		Enclosure: As noted.	
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R: 230830Z JAN 69: FM: AMEMBASSY: L'AGOS: TO SECSTATE: WASHDC: 4558: INFO: AMEMBASSY: COTONOU!

UNCLAS: LAGOS 588

SUBJECT: ZINSOU STATEMENTS DURING LAGOS STOP JAN 21

REF: LAGOS 582

IN ADDITION TO STATEMENTS REPORTED REFIELD ZINSOU ALSO REPORTEDLY STATED IN PRESS CONFERENCE, IN REPLY TO QUESTION ABOUT TYPE OF AFRICAN POLICY HE EXPECTED FROM NIXON ADMINISTRATION, THAT HE HAD CABLED NIXON URGING THAT NEW US ADMINISTRATION ENSURE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE IN AFRICA AND THROUGHOUT WORLD. QUOTED AS ALSO SAYING HE STRESSED OTELEFICACIOUS COOPERATION UNGTE BETWEEN US AND AFRICAN STATES IN ORDER TO IMPROVE EXISTENCE OF HUMANITY, AND CALLED ON USG TO CREATE OTE TRUE AND SINCERE COOPERATION UNGTE BETWEEN NATIONS.

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Qam 17. 1949

The Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria presents his compliments to the Secretary of State of the United States of America and has the honour to transmit the following message from Dr. Okoi Arikpo, Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria, in response to the Honourable Dean Rusk's message dated January 13th, 1969:-

"Dear Mr. Secretary of State,

I thank you for your message dated January 13th, 1969, in which you confirm that the Government of the United States continues to recognise the Federal Government of Nigeria and continues to hope for an early end to the present conflict, hopefully through negotiation, in the context of "One Nigeria". I am grateful for this re-affirmation of the United States Government's position, and for your assurance that the United States Government does not wish to involve itself in the politics of the war.

I would like to assure you that my Government is just as concerned, and even more so, about the welfare of the civilian victims of the civil war. It is well known that we are doing everything possible to provide relief for the civilian population in those areas already liberated from rebel control. As regards the innocent civilians who unfortunately still find themselves under rebel subjugation, you will be aware that my Government has discussed, on a number of occasions, and agreed, with the I.C.R.C., the best and quickest means of conveying relief supplies to them. For example, in May, 1968, we agreed as an emergency measure, the continued use of Santa Isabel as the most expedient solution for evacuating by air the relief supplies, amounting to 3,500 tons, which had been stockpiled by the Red Cross on that island. We also agreed with the Red Cross that, in the long rum, only a land supply route would provide adequate and meaningful relief to the civilian population and that, on completing the evacuation of the supplies then stockpiled in Santa Isabel, the I.C.R.C. would transfer its operational base to Lagos, if necessary under supervision of an international team. The I.C.R.C. has not complied with the terms of this agreement. Rather it has continued to increase its stockpiles in Santa Isabel, contrary to the agreement reached with us, and ignored the decision regarding the long term arrangements for providing relief supplies to the affected areas.

I have mentioned these facts to illustrate the extreme forbearance shown by my Government in its dealings with the I.C.R.C. because of our concern for the well-being of those Nigerians -- our own people -- who live in the area still under rebel control, to whom the I.C.R.C. was flying relief supplies. I, therefore, find it distressing that the suggestion should be put forward that the Federal Government of Nigeria in any way influenced the Equatorial Guinea Government's decision to withhold permission for the continued operation of the I.C.R.C. from its territory.

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R 231625Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS TO SECSTATE WASHDC 138 INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDUAN AMEMBASSY LAGOS: AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE AMEMBASSY LONDON USMISSION GENEVA

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SUBUS FRENCH RELIEF AID TO BLAFRA

REF STATE 8166 AND PARIS 978

To FORMANI DEBREI TOLDI COUNCILI MINISTERS: UAN 22 THAT FRANCE HAS TO DATE SENT 1,200 TONS FOODSTUFFS AND MEDICINES TO BIAFRA VIA GABON OF WHICH BEET TONS HAVE ALREADY BEEN DELLVERED BY NIGHT FLIGHTS" . IN ADDITION FRANCE HAS SENT TWO MEDICAL TEAMS TOTLING TWELVE PERSONS TO BLAFRA, AND HAS SET UP FIELD HOSPITAL WITH 66 PERSONNEL IN LIBREVILLE FOR BIAFRAN CHILDREN. AGREEMENT REACHED WITH ORDER OF MALIA FOR PLACING AND CARE OF CHILDREN AFTER TREATMENT AT HOSPITAL COMPLETED. DEBRE EXPLAINED THAT GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL ABILITY SUPPORT RELIEF OPERATIONS LIMITED ANDUMOST OF SUPPORT COMES FROM PRIVATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONTINUE SUPPORT THROUGH 1969 IT WILL BE NECESSARY ORGANIZE ANOTHER "BIAFRA DAY" (NATION DE SOLICITATION OF FUNDS WITH MAXIMUM RADIO AND TV PUBLICITY).

2. SUPPLEMENTING DEBREWS! INFORMATION WITH EMPHASIS ON CHILD CAREL (REQUESTEDI STATE: 8166) IS EMBOFFI CONVERSATION WITH QUAI NIGERIA DESKI OFFICER! (PIERREIT) JANI 21 . PIERRET SAID FIELDI

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HOSPITAL IN LIBREVILLE NOW TREATING BETWEEN 250 AND 300 CHILDREN ON ANY SINGLE DAY (DESIGNED FOR 200) AND THAT TIGHT FINANCIAL SITUATION RULES OUT ANY PLANS TO ENLARGE IT UNLESS PRIVATE FUNDS BECOME AVAILABLE CONTRIBUTION BY SUSAN GARTH OF \$16,000 TO THIS HOSPITAL HAS ALREADY HELPED CONSIDERABLY.

3. THERE ARELAT PRESENT, BY QUAL CALCULATIONS, 1700 BIAFRAN CHILDREN IN GABON, OF WHOM 7500 BEING CARED FOR BY CARITAS, STEERING SHAPE AND REST BY VARIED PRIVATE GROUPS. THERE ARELAT PRESENT 3000 BIAFRAN CHILDREN IN IVORY COAST, UNDER CARELOF ORDER OF MALTA, COMPLETION OF TWO ADDITIONAL CHILDRENS CAMPS NEAR YAMASOUKRO IN IVORY COAST EXPECTED SOON, ONE BEFORE END OF MONTH, THIS WILL PROVIDE SPACEFOR ADDITIONAL 700 CHILDREN TO BE CARED FOR BY ORDER MALTA, CHILDREN BUT SAID HE NOT FULLY INFORMED ON WHAT ALL PRIVATE GROUPS MAY BE DOING.

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No. PL.247/168

The Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria presents his compliments to the Secretary of State and has the honour to attach hereto a letter addressed to the Honourable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America, from Major-General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria.

The Ambassador would be most grateful if the letter could be transmitted to the President as soon as possible. A copy of the letter is attached for information.

The Ambassador of Nigeria avails himself of this opportunity to convey to the Secretary of State the assurances of his highest consideration.

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Washington, D.C.

22nd January, 1969.



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#### Department of State

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USIA FOR IBS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS: ROUNDUP JANUARY 22:

1. TIMES. POST AND SKETCH: ALL: REPORT BRIEF: TRANSIT STOP: IN: LAGOS BY PRESIDENT OF DAHOMEY ZINSOU RETURNING FROM PARIS. ZINSOU MET BY GENERAL: GOWN AND OTHERS: AND IN: PRESS: CONFERENCE SAID THAT ONLY BRIEF, REFERENCE: MADE: TO NIGERIA IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH GENERAL! DE! GAULLE.
ZINSOU SAID: TOLD: DE: GAULLE: DAHOMEY QTE: SOLIDLY BEHIND: PMG: IN EFFORT TO PRESERVE! UNITY AND: TERRITORIAL! INTEGRITY OF NIGERIA UNGTE. IN REPLY TO QUESTION HE! SAW CONVERSATION. TOO: BRIEF: TO: NOTE: ANY CHANGE! IN. DE: GAULLE: ATTITUDE: ON NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR BUT GENERAL! QTE: EARNESTLY WISHED: PEACE!

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WOULD RETURN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE UNGTE.

2. MOST PAPERS REPORT FMG PRESS RELEASE: JAN 21 THAT FMG: FORCES OF 3RD: MARINE: COMMANDOES CAPTURED VILLAGE: OF: AFAHA-ISE ON ITU FRONT AND THAT REBEL FORCE: DROWNED ATTEMPTING TO CROSS RIVER NORTH: OF: ITU. REBEL: CONTERATTACK IN: INYI REPORTEDLY DEFEATED.

- 3. TRIBUNE AND TIMES REPORT THAT ICRC HAS NOW BEEN ALLOTTED ITS: OWN BERTH AND SPECIAL DOCKING FACILITIES AT LAGOS PORT TO HANDLE RELIEF SUPPLIES. THIS COMES AFTER ICRC REPS MET WITH PORT AUTHORITIES IN ATTEMPT TO CLEAR PORT CONGESTION. ICRC ALSO REPORTED TO BE APPLYING TO FMG FOR IMPORT LICENSE TO COVER ALL RELIEF SUPPLIES. SAME ARTICLE FOLLOWS ON WITH REPORT THAT ICRC COMMISSIONER GENERAL FOR WEST AFRICA LINDT WAS DUE TO LEAVE LAGOS JAN 21 FOR GENEVA. ARTICLE SAYS LINDT HAS BEEN GTE LOOKING FOR POSSIBLE CENTERS. INCLUDING LIBREVILLE IN GABON FROM WHICH RELIEF PLANES CAN FLY INTO BIAFRA. SO FAR HE HAS MADE NO OFFICE ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT HIS INVESTIGATIONS UNGTE.
- 4. TIMES REPORTS STATMENT BY BRIG KATSINA, ARMY COS, THAT THERE WILL BE NO CEASE FIRE UNTIL REBELS RENOUNCE SECESSION. STATED THAT ARMY HAD DONE THEIR BEST IN LIBERATING MID WESTERN, RIVERS, SOUTH-WESTERN, AND LARGE PART OF EAST CENTRAL STIES AND NIGERIAN PEOPLE MUST UNDERSTAND DIFFICULTIES OF PLANNING AND LOGISTICS OF WAR AND SHOULD BE GRATEFUL TO ARMY FOR WHAT IT HAS DONE.
- 5. PILOT AND POST REPORT JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY NIGERIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS (NIUC) AND VISITING EAST GERMAN TRADE UNION DELEGATION FROM FDGB UPON EAST GERMANS DEPARTURE! JAN 20: (LAGOS: A-42) JAN 23: NOTAL). COMMUNIQUE USUAL: LINE PLUS: CALL: FROM NIUC QIE DEMANDING FULL: DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION OF GDR BY NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND AFFILIATION OF GDR TO: ALL: INTERNATIONAL: ORGANIZATIONS: ON EQUAL TERMS UNDTE.

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R: 221835Z JAN: 69

EM: AMEMBASSY PARIS:
TO: SECSTATE: WASHDC 122:
INFO: AMEMBASSY ABIDDAN!
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SUBU: FRENCH VIEWS ON BIAFRA

FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION PRESSURE ON BLAFRA AGAIN BUILDING UP WITH STIMULATION FROM GOVERNMENT. FOMIN DEBRE RAISED GUESTION BIAFRA PUBLICLY FOR FIRST TIME IN SEVERAL WEEKS AT COUNCIL MINISTERS MEETING JAN 22: AND GROUP OF LEADING FRENCH CATIZENS INCLUDING SEVERAL FORMER GAULLISTS MINISTERS AND PRESENT DEPUTIES ISSUED CALL FOR BIAFRAN INDEPENDENCE JAN 20.

2. DECLARATION: CALLING: FOR: BIAFRANI INDEPENDENCE: CEASE: FIRE, CESSATION: ARMS: SUPPLY TO: FEDER: MILITARY GOVERNMENT; ANDI "CESSATION: ALLI ACTS: OFI WAR! AGAINST REPUBLIC: OF: BIAFRA" ISSUED: JAN. 20. DECLARATION: ACCUSES: FMG: OFI: BOMBING: CIVILITAN: POPULATION: OF: "MASSACRES: IN: OCCUPIED! TERRITORY"; ANDI "ABOVE: ALL: FAMINE: CAUSED! BY BLOCADE! IMPOSED! BY LAGOS!; SAYING: THAT THESE: ARE: "CAUSES: OF: GENOCIDE: "AMONG: SIGNERS: ARE: FORMER: MINISTERS: BILLOTTE: DE! BROGLIE: CHARBONNEL: FOYER; DE: LA. MALENE: MASSIGLI: MICHELET; MORONDAT; ANDI DE! LA VIGERIE: GAULLIST. DEPUTIES: SIGNING: NUMBERED! TEN: THERE: WERE! NO DERUTIES FROM!

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3. AT JAN 20 COUNCIL! MINISTERS MEETING DEBRE NOTED TWO FACTORS PERTAINING TO BIAFRA WHICH: "SEEMED! SERIOUS": PEACE DISCUSSIONS HOPED! FOR BY UK! "HAVE! FAILED!" AND SITUATION ON THE! GROUND "SEEMS TO! INDICATED THAT FIGHTING WILL! BEGIN AGAIN: THUS RISK OF FAMINE! IS: CONSIDERABLE". AFTER OUTLINING PAT FRENCH! EFFORTS IN HUMANITARIAN FIELD! (SEPTEL!) DEBRE! INDICATED NEED FOR ADDITIONAL! FUNDS: TO SUPPORT FRENCH! RELIEF! EFFORTS AND SAID! THAT IN "ONE! OR! TWO MONTHS!" THERE! WILL! BE NATIONAL! "BIAFRA DAY".

4. COMMENT: WELDOUBT THAT DECLARATION SIGNED BY SO MANY PROMINENT GAULLISTS WOULD HAVE BEEN ISSUED WITHOUT AT LEAST TACLT APPROVAL OF ELYSES.

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SUBUL NIGERIA - TEXT OF OUUKWU LETTER TO HIM

KETEMA/HAS GIVEN US COPY OF OJUKWU LETTER TO HIM DATED JAN 10. TEXT FOLLOWS, UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED.

OTELL HAVE HONOUR TO PRESENT COMPLIMENTS, AND, ONCE MORE, TO SECONDER TO YOU MY GRATITUDE AND THAT OF GOVT AND PEOPLE OF REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA FOR YOUR CONTINUED CONCERN OVER PLIGHT OF MASSES OF THIS COUNTRY VICTIMS OF NIGERIAN WAR OF GENOCIDE, AND FOR ALL YOUR EFFORTS TO ALLEVIATE SUFFERING AND BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT . HISTORY AND POSTERITY WILL REMEMBER YOUR MAJESTY'S SEARCH FOR PEACE AND ODER HUMANITARIAN ROLE IN THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT.

1 HAVE NOTED YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY'S PROPOSALS ON RELIEF SUPPLIES. MY GOVI'S STAND ON SUBJECT OF RELIEF AND OTHER VITAL PROBLEMS IS CLEARLY STATED IN OUR NEW YEAR MESSAGE, WHICH I HAVE NO DOUBT YOUR MAJESTY MUST HAVE SEEN. COPY OF STATEMENT IS ENCLOSED. WE ARE AWAITING REACTION OF AGGRESSORS TO NEW YEAR PROPOSALS.

IT IS CONSIDERED OPINION OF GOVT AND PEOPLE OF BIAFRA THAT QUICKEST. AND EASIEST WAY OF STOPPING THE SUFFERING IS BY CEASE-FIRE TO ENABLE VICTIMS RETURN TO THEIR HOMES AND FARMS OR AT LEAST A TRUCE TO ENABLE RELIEF SUPPLIES TO COME IN.

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ASCHASS BEEN MADE CLEAR TO YOUR MADESTY EARLIER, WE HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT OUR DIFFERENCES WITH NIGERIA SHOULD BE SETTLED ON CONFERENCE TABLE AND NOT IN BATTLE FIELD. WE ARE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE ANY TIME NIGERIAN AGGRESSORS WANT TO DO SO.

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING AND WOULD LIKE TO AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW TO YOUR MAJESTY ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM. END QUOTE HALL

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P 04, USIA 12, INR 07. CIAE 00, NSA 02, AID 28, SAH 02, ACDA 16, SR 01,

ORM 03. SCS 04. SCA 01. RSR 01. 168 W

R 211115Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4520 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA AMEMBASS ALGIERS AMEMBASSY LONDOFU AMEMBASSY OTTAWA AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM AMEMBASSY WARSAW USMISSION USUN NY CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA RUTAKAZAMCONSUL KADUNA 3429 AMCONSUL IBADAN

SUBJ: NIGERIA: OBSERVER TEAM REPORT NOV 24, 1968-JAN 13, 1969

REF LAGOS A-987: LAGOS: 428

I . REPORT COVERING ABOVE PERIOD WILL BE RELEASED IN LAGOS 1100 GMT JAN 22. IT IS SIGNED BY MILROY (CANADA). OLKIEWICZ (POLAND), RAAB (SWEDEN), FERGUSSON (UK).

2. SUMMARY PROVIDED WITH REPORT MAKES FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. NOTHING SEEN OR HEARD TO CHANGE OBSERVATIONS MADE IN EARLIER REPORTS THATILMS TROOPS ARE ADHERING TO INSTRUCTIONS IN THEIR "CODE OF CONDUCT."

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B. MALNUTRITION PROBLEMS IN FEDERALLY HELD AREAS OF WAR ZONE WHILE STILL SERIOUS ARE NOW UNDER CONTROL.

COLLUSIONS COULD BE REACHED ABOUT ALLEGED DELIBERATE ATTACK ON HOSPITAL AT AWO-OMMAMA.

D. CONDITIONS IN POW CAMPS IN LAGOS IMPROVING BUT HAVE NOT YET REACHED STANDARDS REQUIRED BY GENEVA CONVENTION.
MEETING HAS BEEN HELD BY FEDERAL ARMY TO START CORRECTIVE ACTION.

3. TEXT OF REPORT FOLLOWS BY AIRGRAM. DECON: 1/23/69 MATHEWS:

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By MMARA Date 0 5 95



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SS: 20. USIA 12. NSA 02 RSR 01 /161 W

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R: 212320Z JAN: 69
FM: USMISSION: USUN: NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5813
INFO: AMEMBASSY ADDIS: ABABA
AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON:
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION: GENEVA
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN:
AMEMBASSY REYKUAVIK

UNCLAS USUN 152

SUBJECT: STATEMENT BY NORDICE MINISTERS ON NIGERIA

MISOFFI OBTAINED' FROM SKALM (SWEDEN) COPY OF TEXT ISSUED BY NORDIC MINISTERS RESITUATION INFRIGERIA (FULL TEXT BEING POUCHED DEPT).

2. FOLLOWING IS: SUMMARY OF STATEMENT WHICH IS IN REPLY TO APPEAL FROM OUKUKWU TO CALL ON BOTH PARTIES: TO CONFLICT IN NIGERIA TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS FOR SETTLEMENT. STATEMENT SAYS THAT IN CONNECTION WITH EFFORTS MADE BEFORE CHRISTMAS: TO ARRANGE FOR CEASEFIRE DURING HOLLDAYS. NORDIC MINISTERS: ACTIVELY SUPPORTED EFFORTS BY MAKING DIRECT APPEALS: TO FMG AND BY CONTACTS WITH TANZANIA WHICH RECOGNIZES BIAFRA. MINISTERS REGRET EFFORTS WERE UNSUCCESSFUL BUT WISH TO APPEAL ONCE AGAIN TO BOTH PARTIES TO DO THEIR UTMOST TO REACH AGREEMENT ON CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATIONS. MINISTERS EXPRESSED DEEP REGRET RE GEG DECISION NOT TO ALLOW FLIGHTS: CARRYING RELIEF SUPPLIES TO START FROM FERNANDO PO AND EXPRESSED GRAVE CONCERN FOR CONSEQUENCES OF

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THIS DECISION. AFTER NOTING THAT BOTH SIDES HAD ACCEPTED DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS AND A LAND CORRIDOR FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES. GOVERNMENTS OF FOUR NORDIC COUNTRIES ARE PREPARED TO EXTEND THEIR GOOD OFFICES FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO ARRANGE WAYS AND MEANS OF TRANSPORTING RELIEF SUPPLIES. THIS OFFER IS SUBJECT TO ACCEPTANCE OF BOTH PARTIES. TEXT OF STATEMENT WAS SENT TO FMG AND TANZANIA.

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

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US MISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

STATE

**EXDIS** 

REFERENCE: ADDIS 0242

SUBJECT: Nigeria: Ojukwu reply to HIM's letter

1. We are most anxious have text of Ojukwu's reply and appreciate your efforts to get it to us soonest. Until we are able to study text, we will defer discussing it with Lowenstein as well as passing judgment on questions of publicity and HIM emissary to Biafra/FMG.

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R 201615Z JAN 69 EM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3379 INFO AMEMBASSY OAKAR AMEMBASSY LAGOS AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI AMEMBASSY TUNIS

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CORRECTEOCOPY

1. UPON RETURN JANUARY 16 FROM OFFICIAL VISITS TO TUNISIA,
1. UPON RETURN JANUARY 16 FROM OFFICIAL VISITS TO TUNISIA,
LIYYA, ANO SENEGAL, NETH FONMIN LUNS MADE FOLLLOWING
COMMENTS TO DUTCH PRESS ON HIS TALKS ON MIDDLE EAST AND.
BIAFRA. GOVERNMENTS OF TUNISIA AND LIBYA HAO BOTH BECOME
MORE PESSIMISTIC WITH RESPECT TO SPEEDY SOLUTION OF ME
CRISIS, ESPECIALLY SINCE RECENT EVENTS IN ATHENS AND
GEIRUT. LUNS HAO IMPRESSION LIBYANS APPRECIATED FRENCH
ARMS EMBARGO, WHICH HE POINTED OUT LEVIED BY DE GAULLE
WITHOUT PREVIOUSLY INFORMING ALLIES. LUNS AOOED THAT
WHILE TOTAL ARMS EMBARGO FOR ME MIGHT CHECK: POSSIBLE
WITHOUT PREVIOUSLY INFORMING ALLIES. DEVIS OF SOLUTION
IN SHORT RUN. LUNS SAID BOTH TUNISIA AND LIBYA HAD
IN SHORT RUN. LUNS SAID BOTH TUNISIA AND LIBYA HAD
SHOWN INTEREST IN LAST YEAR'S EVENTS IN EUROPE AND
PRESENCE OF SOVIET NAVAL UNITS IN MEDITERRANEAN. BOTH
HAD EXPRESSED APPRECWATION OF BONA FIDELAND IMPARTIAL NETH
HAD EXPRESSED APPRECWATION OF BONA FIDELAND IMPARTIAL NETH
STRESSED, HAD CALLED ON HIM TO ACT. AS MEDIATOR.

2. LUNS SAID ALL! THREE GOVERNMENTS HAD OPPOSED EUROPEAN Salar Con

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# Department of State XR POW23-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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R 181553Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9957 INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY LOME

CONFIDENTIAL PARIS 776

SUBJECT: FRENCH VIEW ON BIAFRA

1. IN CONVERSATION WITH POLICOUNS JANUARY 17 QUAL DIRECTOR LEGEL MADE FOLLOWING POINTS: (A) ICRC FLIGHTS FROM FERNADO PO FRANCE HAS NO RELATIONS WITH GEG AND IS THEREFORE NOT CLOSELY ATTUNED TO CURRENT GEG ATTITUDE RE RESUMPTION OF RELIEF FLIGHTS. ON BASIS INFO RECEIVED FROM NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, HOWEVER, QUAI UNDER-STANDS GEG LEADERSHIP IS HIGHLY UNSTABLE AND NOT LIVING IN A WORLD OF REALITY. GOF NOT AT ALL OPTIMISTIC OVER RESUMPTION OF FLIGHTS. (B) FOLLOWING AMBASSADOR'S JANUARY 4 CONVERSATION WITH DEBRE (PARIS 119), TELEGRAM HAD BEEN SENT TO ABIDJAN INSTRUCTING APPROACH TO HOUPHOUET BOIGNY ON LEBEL'S IDEA FOR AFRICAN MEDIATING GROUP. INITIAL RESPONSE REPORTED LESS THAN WEEK AGO INDICATES HOUPHOUET REACTED FAVORABLY TO IDEA OF TRYING TO GET MOVEMENT ON RELIEF PROBLEM, AND SAID HE WANTED TO THINK ABOUT FRENCH IDEA OF JOINT ACTION WITH PRESIDENTS OF NIGER, TANZANIA AND KENYA. FRENCH PLAN TO WAIT A FEW MORE DAYS BEFORE GOING BACK TO HOUP. HOUET.

2. EMBOFF ALSO SAW QUAI NIGERIAN DESK OFFICER (PIERRET) JAN. 17. PIERRET FULLY SHARED LEBEL'S PESSIMISM ABOUT GEG AGREEING TO RESUMPTION ICRC FLIGHTS. HE SAID THAT QUAL STILL HAS NO

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ACCURATE READING OF PROBABLY FUTURE STARVATION RATE, BUT HE DID NOT SEEM TO THINK CESSATION ICRC FLIGHTS WOULD CONSTITUTE DECISIVE ELEMENT FOR FUTURE OF BIAFRA.

3. PIERRET ADMITTED THAT ARMS SHIPMENTS TO BIAFRA HAVE BEEN REDUCED SINCE "BEFORE CHRISTMAS" BUT DID NOT RPIT NOT INDICATE THIS WAS LIKELY BE PERMANENT. QUAI HAS NO RECENT READING ON MILITARY SITUATION, BUT BIAFRANS SEEM TO BE HOLDING THEIR OWN DESPITE SHORTAGE OF SMALL ARMS AMMUNITION.

GP-3.

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# Department of State TELEGRAM

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R 171515Z JAN 69 FM: AMEMBASSY LAGOS TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4477 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA AMEMBASSY ALGIERS AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY OTTAWA AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM AMEMBASSY WARSAW USMISSION USUN NY CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA

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SUBJ: CURRENT STATUS INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER TEAM

CANADIANS (PROTECT) HAVE PASSED US FOLLOWING TELEGRAM ON ABOVE SUBJECT:

FROM MILROY. NOW THAT MONTH HAS PASSED SINCE OBSERVERS LAST EXTENSION YOU MAY BE INTERESTED IN A REVIEW OF THE GROUP.

B. THE ONLY MEMBERS WHO HAVE REDUCED THE SIZE OF THEIR PARTY ARE THE DAU. BOTH NEGGA AND HOFFMAN LEFT IN DEC LEAVING A CAPTAIN AND A CIVILIAN INTERPRETER RESPECTIVELY TO REPRESENT THEM. WE HEAR! RUMOURS! FROM TIME TO TIME THAT HOFFMAN IS COMING BACK BUT WE HAVE YET TO SEE HIM. AS POINTED OUT EARLIER OAU APPROACH WAS THAT OBSERVERS SHOULD HAVE LEFT AFTER THE TWO MONTHS MENTIONED IN THE ORIGINAL INVITATION.

THE POLISH AND SWEDISH TEAMS ARE UNCHANGED EXCEPT FOR THE REPLACEMENT OF ARESKOUG BY TAAM. THEY WILL REMAIN UNCHANGED UNLESS FMG TAKES ACTION WITH POLISH AND SWEDISH

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GOVTS: TO: CHANGE! THEM: NEITHER! RAAB! NOR! OLKIEWICZ WOULD CONSIDER: MAKING: A. RECOMMENDATION: TO: CHANGE: I UNDERSTAND: THAT RAAB! HAS: JUST STONED! AN! OPEN! ENDED! CONTRACT TO: STAY. OLKIEWICZ DOESN! T WANT. TO: REDUCE! HIS NUMBERS: AS: IT EVIDENTLY TAKES: UP: TO! THREE! WEEKS TO! GET CLEARANCES: NECESSARY. TO! GET BACK! TO: NIGER! A.

- D. BRITISH SENT ARBUTHNOTT BACK AND FERGUSSON AND CAIRNS HAVE TAKEN LEAVE IN TURN. FERGUSSON IS PREPARED TO STAY UNTIL END OF MARCH AND CAIRNS HAS AN EXTENSION FROM HIS COMPANY UNTIL JUN. UNDERSTAND FROM FERGUSSON THAT ALEXANDER MIGHT BE PREPARED TO COME BACK FOR ANOTHER TOUR.
- E. UNDERSTAND THAT UP THANT HAS AGREED TO EXTEND THE UNGROUP SESTAY FOR ANOTHER MONTH UNTILL FEB 14.
- FIGURE APPEARS: THAT OBSERVER GROUP WILL CONTINUE AT PRESENT STRENGTH FOR IMMED FUTURE. DANGERS HERE TO ITS: CONTINUED EXISTENCE ARE A CONFRONTATION WITH ADEKUNLE AND EXPENSE. ADEKUNLE COULD REFUSE TO ALLOW OBSERVERS INTO HIS AREA WHICH WOULD FACE FMG WITH A PROBLEM TO WHICH THE EASIEST SOLUTION MIGHT BE TO DISBAND THE OBSERVERS. A FACTOR IN ANY SUCH DECISION IS THAT I ESTIMATE THAT WE COST FMG AT LEAST 7000 POUNDS NIGERIAN A MONTH (\$21,000 US) NOT/NOT INCLUDING THE COST OF AIRCRAFT CHARTERED FOR US.
- G. I HAVE NOVNO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT FMG DO NOTVNOT WANT OBSERVERS TO STAY ON AT THEIR PRESENT STRENGTH.
- 2. ON CANADIAN SIDE, MILROY IS LEAVING AT END OF MONTH HE WILL BE REPLACED BY COLONEL CHARLES: J. A. HAMILTON WHO WILL BE PROMOTED TO BRIG. GEN. IN EARLY FEBRUARY.

  GP-1 MATHEWS:

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PAGE: 01 LONDON 00439 01 OF 02 172154Z

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AMEMBASSY LAGOS:
AMEMBASSY ADDIS:
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE!
AMEMBASSY ABIDUAN:
AMEMBASSY DARIES: SALAAM!
AMEMBASSY PARIS:
USUN: NEWYORK; 1571 R: 171817Z JAN 69

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION TOF 2 LONDON 439

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: AWOLOWO PRESS CONFERENCE!

FONOFF HAS PROVIDED US WITH "RELIABLE BUT INCOMPLETE" ACCOUNT OF AWOLOWO PRESS CONFERENCE HELDI AT NIGERIA HOUSE! JANUARY 16. IT WAS PREPARED BY OFFICIAL NEWS DEPT. AND GIVES MORE COMPLETE! VERSION! OF AWOLOWO'S REMARKS THAN ANY THAT HAS SO FARI APPEARED IN LONDON PRESS.

2. QUOTE: CHIEFI AWOLOWO WAS: ASKED WHETHER HE! WAS: PREPARED TO MEET THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BREAKAWAY EASTERN REGION AND HE REPLIED "IF THE REBELS WISH TO MEET ME. I AM PREPARED TO MEET THEM! BUT HE HAD RECEIVED NO ADVICE THAT THEY WERE READY TO ATTEND A MEETING.

QUOTE ASKED WHETHER ANYTHING HAD TRANSPIRED AS A RESULT OF MEETING AT LANCASTER HOUSE, CHIEF AWOLOWO REPLIED "NOTHING". QUOTE. ASKEDI WHETHERI THEREI HADI BEEN ANY CONTACTS BETWEEN

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PAGE 02 LONDON 00439 01 OF 02 172154Z

CANADIANS AND REBELS, HE REPLIED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO CONTACTS SO FAR AS HE KNEW. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT OTHER PEOPLE HAD MADE CONTACT AND SUGGESTED MEETING BUT THEY (BIAFRANS) HAD TÜRNED IT DOWN. PRESIDENT NYERERE HAD ALSO MADE ATTEMPTS, BUT HAD RECEIVED SAME ANSWER. "I WANT TO TALK AND TO TELL THEM THAT IT IS FOOLISH TO CONTINUE THESE ACTS OF REBELLION WHICH RESULT IN KILLING OF THEIR OWN

QUOTE ASKED HOW LONG IT WOULD TAKE TO FINISH WAR, CHIEF: AWOLOWO REPLIED THAT HE WAS A CIVILIAN AND NOT A SOLDIER OUTE HE WAS ASKED WHETHER HE WAS PREPARED TO STAY BEYOND SATURDAY, IF THERE WAS ANY CHANCE OF TALKING TO BIAFRANS CHIEF! AWOLOWO REPLIED "NO" AND IN ANSWER TO A FURTHER QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THIS WAS AN ULTIMATUM, HE SAID IT WAS NOT, BUT HE HAD COME TO LONDON FOR A CONFERENCE AND IT WAS TIME

QUOTE: CHIEF! AWOLOWO SAID! THAT HE! HAD NO! PRE - CONDITIONS: FOR TALKS: THEY WOULD! AFTER: ALL! BE! TALKS: ABOUT TALKS: HE! WANTED! OPPORTUNITY TO: EXPLAIN TO! BIAFRANS: FUTILITY: OF!; CONTINUING THEIR: ACT OF! SECESSION:

QUOTE: CHIEF AWOLOWO DESCRIBED AS VERY UNTRUE! A STATEMENT THAT SOME OF HIS DELEGATION HAD MET BIAFRANS INFORMALLY

QUOTE WHAT WAS PURPOSE OF LANCASTER HOUSE MEETING THEN? CHIEFLAWOLOWO REPLIED "IT ENABLED ME TO EXPLAIN NIGERAL FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S POSITION TO OTHER HEADS OF GOVERNMENT".

QUOTE A QUESTIONER SUGGESTED THAT ONLY PURPOSE THAT CHIEF!
AWOLOWO SAY IN TALKING TO BIAFRANS WAS OPPORTUNITY TO "TICK"
THEM OFF" FOR BEING REBELS CHIEF AWOLOWO REPLIED "THERE WAS ONLY ONE BASIS ON WHICH ONE COULD TALK AND THAT WAS ONE NIGERIA" •

QUOTE: ASKED: IF: A MEETING: WAS ARRANGED: BY SOME OTHER: PERSON OR: BODY; WOULD HELATTEND; OR: SHOULD! THEY (BIAFRANS:) MAKE! APPROACHES TO: HIM: DIRECT; CHIEF: AWOLOWO REPLIED! THAT HE! WOULD GO! TO! ANY MEETING: THAT WAS: ARRANGED:

QUOTE : ON QUESTION OF RELITEFU CHITEFI AWOLOWO! WAS ASKED WHETHER!

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HE: WAS PREPARED! TO: ALLOW! FOR! BULK! SUPPLIES: OF! CARBOHYDRATES:
AND: OTHER: FOODSTUFFS: AND DRUGS TO: BE! FERRIED! UPRIVER TO:
OGUTA - CHIEF: AWOLOWO: SAID: THAT THIS: WAS: NOT AN: EASY QUESTION:
TO: ANSWER: BECAUSE: OF! EFFECT: SUCH! FERRYING: OPERATIONS: WOULD!
HAVE: ON: MILITARY OPERATIONS - IN! PRINCIPLE! HE: WAS: PREPARED;
TO: ALLOW RELIEF! OPERATIONS: PROVIDED! THEY DID! NOT HINDER!
MILITARY OPERATIONS, AND! HE! WENT ON! TO: POINT OUT: THAT IN
BIAFRAN PROPAGANDA FILM! SCREENED! ON! BBC: LAST WEEK! PEOPLE!
IN! TOWNS: LOOKED! WELL! FED! AND! REBELS: WERE! CONSCRIPTING! CHILD.
REN! INTO ARMY.

QUOTE: A QUESTIONER ASKED WHETHER FEDERAL ARMED FORCES HAD BEGUN AN OFFENSIVE FROM ONITSHA - CHIEF REPLIED HE DID NOT KNOW AS HE HAD BEEN AWAY FROM LAGOS FOR SOME DAYS.

QUOTE - ASKED WHETHER FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD PERMIT NEW AIRSTRIP TO BE CONSTRUCTED IN REBEL TERRITORY FOR RELIEF OPERATIONS CHIEF AWOLOW REPLIED THAT HE WOULD REQUIRE NOTICE OF THAT QUESTION -- LONG NOTICE

QUOTE: IN REPLY TO QUESTION AS TO WHETHER HE WAS HOPEFUL! OF ANY MEETINGS TRANSPIRING WITH BIAFRANS CHIEF AWOLOWO SAID WE LIVE ON HOPE!

QUOTE: IN REPLY TO QUESTION WHETHER HE BELIEVED THAT ONE SIDE OR OTHER SHOULD GIVE UE IN CIVIL WAR! HE SAID "YES", BUT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT BE ONES TO GIVE UP: CHIEF AWOLOWO SAID THAT HE THOUGHT WAR WOULD END THIS YEAR BUT "TOMORROW IS THIS YEAR, NEXT WEEK IS THIS YEAR \*\*\*\*

QUOTE: CHIEF: AWOLOWO: SAID: HE' BELTEVED PRESIDENT NYERERE; AND PRESIDENT KAUNDA REGRETTED THEIR! ACTION: IN RECOGNIZING BY AFRA BUT IT WAS DIFFICULT; FOR! THEM TO PULL! OUT WITHOUT LOSING: FACE; HE DESCRIBED SIAKA STEVENS! LETTER! AS VERY PROVOCATIVE AND SAID: THAT HE WOULD HAND! OUT COPIES; TOGETHER: WITH COPIES: OF! HIS: REPLY AT END: OF! PRESS: CONFERENCE: (THESE! WERE NOT AVAIL: ABLE: -- COPIES: ARE: BEING: OBTAINED! • ASKED! WHAT WAS PRINTED IN LETTER; CHIEF! AWOLOWO'SAID! "A CALL! FOR! A CEASE FIRE" • BRUCE!

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R 171817Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8290
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS:
AMEMBASSY ADDIS:
AMEMBASSY ACCRA.
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE:
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM!
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA.
AMEMBASSY PARIS.
USUN NEWYORK 1572.

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QUOTE: CHIEF: AWOLOWO: SAID: THAT THERE WERE: SUSPICIONS: BIAFRANS! FINANCIAL: AND: MILITARY SUPPORT CAME: FROM: FRANCE: TANZANIA -- A LITTLE: THE! IVORY COAST AND: GABON!

QUOTE'S HE REPLIED "CERTAINLY NOT" TO A SUGGESTION THAT FEDERAL! GOVERNMENT SHOULD: AGREE TO: AN UNCONDITIONAL! CEASE FIRE'S HE! LATER SPOKE: OF ACTION NECESSARY TO DISLODGE GROUP OF GANGSTERS WHO WERE TERRORIZING AND KILLING PEOPLE: -- YOU USE YOUR POLICE AND ARMY TO: DISLODGE THEM:

QUOTE: IN REPLY TO SUGGESTION THAT THERE! COULD! BE! CEASE-FIRE! WHILE! TALKS! BEGAN, CHIEF! AWOLOWO: SAID THEY (REBELS!) HAD!
COMITTED A CRIME AND SHOULD! BE! PUNISHED; BUT LATER! HE! WENT
ON TO SAY IF THEY RENOUNCED SECESSION NOW, THERE: WILL! BE!
GENERAL AMNESTY FOR EVERYONE; BUT IF! THEY FIGHT TO END, THEY
WILL! BE TREATED AS CRIMINALS. IN REPLY TO QUESTION ON BBC;
CHIEF! AWOLOWO SAID THEY HAD! NOT COMPLAINED -- "IF! THEY WISHED!

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TO USE THEIR MEDIUM IN THIS WAY THEY ARE FREE TO DO SO BUT IT IS UP TO US TO DEAL WITH SITUATION.

QUOTE: IN REPLY TO QUESTION AS TO WHETHER HE REQUIRED MORE ARMS FROM BRITAIN; THE CHIEF SAID "SO LONG AS FIGHTING CONTINUES, YOU NEED MORE ARMS". ON RHODESIA, CHIEF AWOLOWO DESCRIBED IAN SMITH AS BEING A LITTLE BETTER THAN OJOKWU AND SAID, IN REPLY TO: A QUESTION ON WHAT NIGERIA WOULD DO: IF MR. SMITH ACCEPTED THE FEARLESS PROPOSALS, HE SAID "WE WILL PROTEST: WE WILL WRITE SPEECHES: ON RADIO AND IN NEWSPAPERS AND THEN FINISH". (I UNDERSTOOD HIM TO MEAN THAT THIS WOULD BE END OF PROTEST).

"CHIEF AWOLOWO EXPLAINED THE TAX TROUBLES IN THE WESTERN STATES AND POINTED OUT THAT THEY WERE NOT TAXES FOR THE WAR. RATHER AN AFRICAN VERSION OF LOCAL RATES. WHILE TALKING OF THIS, HE MENTIONED THE BBC BROADCAST USING A MARKPRESS HANDOUT THAT THE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE HAD ATTACKED IBADAN AND THAT FREEDOM FIGHTERS HAD TAKEN OVER THE AIRPORT.

". "ON THE QUESTION OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN AFRICA, HE SAID THAT NIGERIA WOULD GIVE THEM MONEY AND MORAL SUPPORT. EARLIER IN THE PRESS CONFERENCE, HE HAD JOKINGLY REPLIED TO AN AFRICAN QUESTIONER ON THE SUBJECT OF SURPLUS ARMS WHEN THE FIGHTING WAS OVER, SAYING THAT HE WOULD GIVE THE ARMS TO THE FREEDOM: FIGHTERS. LATER, HE WAS AT PAINS TO POINT OUT THAT THIS WAS A JOKE. END QUOTE.

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7 1	1 00	The SMILE CLES AND	
10 1	5/14		
GR CO		FROM : Amembassy LAGOS DATÉ:	JAN 17 1969
NT LA		SUBJECT: Forwarding Nigerian Workers' Council Letter	
R XM	B AIR	to the President and Copy of Ambassador's R REF : Lagos A-30, January 14, 1969	eply
3 2	NAVY		
SD USI	A NSA	Enclosed is the original of a letter dated January 2 to the President by J. U. Akpan "for: Federation of	, 1969, addressed
34 10	13	a percela notreels nulling of Materials and including in	<b>-</b>
1 61	6	Nigerian Workers' Council. The letter was delivered official in a televised ceremony January 7.	to an Embassy
Lan	32/	Also enclosed is a copy of the Ambassador's reply da	ted January 1)
		to Mr. Akpan.	oca bandary 14
		MATHEWS 2	
		Enclosures: 1. Ltr addressed to the President, Jan 2. 1969	
		2. Ambassador's reply to same, Jan 14, 1969	
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AGR	сом	FRB	FROM : Amembassy MOSCOW DATE: January 17, 1969
INT	LAB	TAR	SUBJECT: Current Soviet Attitudes on Nigeria
TR	ХМВ	AIR	
14.		5	REF : Moscow A-2102, A-2010
3	CIA ZO	NAVY 5	
ARMY 3	USIA	NSA	Recent Soviet press treatment of the Nigerian civil war has been low key. Brief, factual accounts of developments have been the rule;
27	10	3 N32	only a few interpretive articles have appeared since January 1. Even the Soviet-Nigerian economic agreement, signed in Lagos November 21,
		6	has brought forth little press comment.
PM - 15	J-P6R		and attempting to make political capital out of a false role of "peacemaker." The US is accused of neo-colonialism and of allegedly aiding Biafra under the guise of "humanitarianism." For example, a January 8 <u>Izvestiya</u> article by G. Gerasimov stated that the USA has pledged \$22 million in aid "to Biafra," with \$20 million more in the offing. Gerasimov conveniently ignored the fact that this aid is for war victims on both sides of the conflict. Portugal was characteristically pilloried by Gerasimov for aiding Biafra, but he was silent on any French rolemerely noting that a pro-Biafra committee has been established in Paris.
260 JAN 19	CGPYFLO-PSR		Media Still Predict Federal Victory. Regarding the present course of hostilities, a Prayda January 5 editorial asserted that Nigeria is close to ending the civil war. In September, the Soviet press was predicting an imminent end to fighting; it has not discussed this aspect for many weeks. Noting that Nigerian military officers are young and inexperienced, Gerasimov declared that the war "drags on because of support received by the rebels from outside." General Gowon was quoted by Gerasimov as saying that the war was in its final stages, but that these are the hardest.  LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  FOR DEPT. USE ONLY
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Horrors of War Cited Finally. For the first time, to the Embassy's knowledge, the Soviet press has devoted some attention to the human suffering engendered by hostilities. Gerasimov evidently visited several of the war zones and he related to his Soviet readers some of the grim details, observing that the war has "already taken a toll of about one million lives." He asserted, however, that genocide was not a factor, basing his argument on the report of international observers. Moreover, the author downplayed the presence of starvation, implying that pertinent Western press reports were exaggerated. He did, however, blame the rebels for placing political considerations over humanitarian ones.

Soviet-Nigerian Relations. Concerning Soviet-Nigerian relations, Gerasimov included favorable comments from Foreign Affairs Commissioner Arikpo, who reportedly told some Soviet correspondents that relations "will grow and become more cordial with time." General Gowon is said to have told the same group: "Now relations are being built on a necessary base of understanding problems one with the other, on a basis of mutual respect, as relations between friends." In this context, the Soviet-Nigerian economic agreement was noted without comment.

US Oil Companies Condemned. On the subject of oil, Pravda January 13 cast aspersions on US petroleum companies, which "prospect from the Congo River to the Senegal River." The article asserted that oil flowed from Port Harcourt (following its capture by Federal forces) even before water and electricity services were reestablished. In general, the article called for an end to the "fleecing" of Nigeria by Western oil companies.

Comment: The Soviets continue to bank heavily on a Federal victory, which they still seem to view, at least publicly, as imminent. There has been no evidence of Soviet interest in initiating moves toward negotiations or a cease-fire, despite recent activity along these lines in African and Western capitals. In publicizing, albeit slightly, the horrors of the war Moscow conceivably could be paving the way for some Soviet "humanitarian" gesture—but presumably directed toward Lagos. However, the Nigerian DCM here told the reporting officer that he was not aware of any such Soviet activity.

Soviet media present the image of the USSR as Federal Nigeria's only true friend. Undoubtedly, a basis is being laid for continuing and expanding Soviet activity in Nigeria as time goes on. As Western powers take initiatives which may appear to Lagos to be abetting the Bisfran cause, Moscow's professions of consistent loyalty to the FMG have a truer ring in Lagos. The Nigerian DCM in Moscow, by no means a Soviet sympathizer, said recently that the Nigerian situation is becoming "very awkward"—it is no longer merely a matter of civil war, he observed, because big power involvement is growing.

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#### Department of State

**TELEGRAM** 

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SUBJECT: PUBLIC STATEMENT BY GEG PRESIDENT

1. LINDT IN RECEIPT TRANSLATION STATEMENT GEG PRESIDENT RE RELIEF!
FLIGHTS BIAFRA. PRESIDENT REPORTED TO HAVE SAID GEG READY TO HELP:
INNOCENTS IN THE SECESSIONIST TERRITORY THROUGH APPROVAL OF DAY
RELIEF FLIGHTS. HOWEVER CHARGED THAT EVERYONE KNOWS: CRC TRAFICKING IN ARMS AND THAT THE ICRC BEHIND PROPAGANDA AGAINST GEG. NEVERTHELESS GEG READY TO APPROVE SHIPMENTS: FOOD CLOTHING AND MEDICINES TO SECESSIONIST AREA BUT ONLY IN DAYLIGHT. PRESIDENT ALLEGEDLY SAID THAT IF ICRC DID NOT LIKE THIS THEY COULD GO TO THE UN OR TO THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPILA AND REMINDED LISTENERS THAT ICRC HAD NOT GIVEN EQUATORIAL GUINEA ITS INDEPENDENCE . PRESIDENT REPORTED TO HAVE SAID THAT IF THERE ARE NO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS ARRANGED. THERE WILL NOT BE A SINGLE NIGHT FLIGHT. CHARGED GREAT POWERS WHO HIDE BEHINDI ICRC HAVE PROVOKED THE WAR IN NIGERIA.

2. LINDT THEN HANDED MESSAGE RELICRC REP. INTERVIEW TIH PRESIDENT WHO NOW STATES THAT HE WILL! NOT EVEN ALLOW ANY DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS.

3. LINDT WORRIED SAFETY ICRC PERSONNEL IN EQUATORIAL GUINEA IN:
VIEW OF EMOTIONAL AND COMPLETELY UNFOUNDED NATURE OF CHARGES MADE BY PRESIDENT.

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 00112 151658Z

- 4. FEARS THAT GEG! MAY HAVE CLOSED DOOR TO FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE PRESIDENT HAS GONE ON PUBLIC RECORD IN THIS FASHION.
- 5. LINDT UNDERSTANDS GEG: FOREIGN: MINISTER: AND INTERIOR MINISTER: ENROUTE TO L'AGOS THIS AFTERNOON:
- 6. LINDT STILL INTENDS: VISIT L'AGOS, WILL! EXPRESS THANKS: ICRC FOR FMG: SUPPORTING STATEMENTS: ON BEHALF, OF AID: TO: BOTH: SIDES AND WILL! DISCUSS ICRC S DEEP CONCERN; IN: FINDING WAYS RESUMING RELIEF! OPERATIONS ASAP. ICRC REPS WILL! BE! CHECKING: SOONEST ALTERNATIVE: POSSIBILITIES.
- 7. INLEARLIER MEETING MENTIONED GENEVA 105 LINDT SKEPTICAL WHETHER GHANA WOULD MAKE FACILITIES AVAILABLE. THOUGHT TOGO AND NIGER IMPRACTICAL FOR LOGISTICAL REASONS AND THAT CAMEROONS, LARGELY BECAUSE OF INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN CHRISTIAN AND MOHAMMEDAN POPULATIONS, UNLIKELY TO MAKE AIRPORT AVAILABLE. LINDT SPECULATED AS TO WHETHER AIRSTRIP OTHER THAN LIBREVILLE MIGHT BE FEASIBLE IN GABON WITH UNIOR OTHER INSPECTORS CHECKING FLIGHTS: I SAID I PERSONALLY WONDERED WHETHER POSSIBLE USE AIR-CRAFT CARRIERS; LINDT THOUGHT BE TOO SMALLS.
- 8. L'INDT' SAID: THIS' AFTERNOON: HE RECEIVED: FLASH: FROM: BIAFRA STĂTING: BIAFRAN: INTELLIGENCE: HAD! JUST LEARNED: FMG: TROOPS HAD: RECEIVED! ORDERS SEIZE! ALL: ICRC MATERIAL: L'INDT SOMEWHAT SKEPTICAL! ABOUT THIS: REPORT.
- 9. LINDT SAID: OUUKWU: HAD: SENT MESSAGE: YESTERDAY TO: SWISS FEDERAL GOVT CLAIMING: TOO: MUCH: PRESSURE! FROM: ICRC: IN: FAVOR: DAY FLIEHTS. LINDT OBSERVES THAT ON! OTHER! HAND! FMG CHARGING! ICRC: NOT PRESSING ENOUGHT ON THIS: SCORE.
- 100 LINDT SAID UNDERSTANDS NOW THAT PETITPIERRE WILL SEEL COUVE DE MURVILLE AND DEBRE NOT DEGAULLE AS PRÉVIOUSLY REPORTEDO PETITPIERRE WILL PRESS FRENCH FOR SUPPORT DAY FLIGHT OPERATION AND LAND CORRIDOR AND WILL ALSO ASK FOR FRENCH FINANCIAL SUPPORT.
- [1. IN CONNECTION QUESTIONS RAISED PARAS I AND 7 OF STATE 6560 BORSINGER JOINED US AND SAID THAT IN LONDON HE HAD URGED ARIKPO INTERCEDE WITH GEG BUT ARIKPO HAD TAKEN LINE THAT SINCE GEG SOVEREIGN COUNTRY FMG DID NOT WANT TO DO SO ARIKPO ALSO IMPLIED

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 00112 151658Z

NO: FMG. INFLUENCE: INVOLVEDI IN: GEG. NEGATIVE! ATTITUDE: ICRC: OPERATIONS.
BORSINGER: DENIED: HAVING: MADE: ANY STATEMENT TO ARIKPO THAT ICRC:
HAD! ASKED: GEG. FOR: 50 DAY PERIOD, TO: MOVE! STOCKS PENDING NEW AGREE.

12. I SUGGESTEDI ADVISABILITY ICRC PUTTING OUT CLARIFYING STATEMENT RE GALLPIN'S PRESS CONFERENCE COMMENT YESTERDAY THAT ICRC MIGHT, IN INTEREST NEUTRALITY, EVENTUALLY HAVE TO PULL OUT FMG IF BIAFRA OPERATION ENDED. LINDT SAID COMMUNIQUE BEING PREPARED AND WOULD STRESS ICRC DESIRE TO CONTINUE HELPING ALL VICTIMS ON BOTH SIDES OF CONFLICT. LINDT SAID NO INTENTION WHATEVER ON PART GALLOPIN LEAVE IMPRESSION OF TRYING TO PRESSURE FMG IN MANNER REPORTED.

T3. AT CONCLUSION MORNING SESSION WITH LINDT I EXPRESSED SOME PUZZLEMENT RE RUSSIAN MILITARY SUPPORT NIGERALA AND FRENCH MILITARY SUPPORT NIGERALA AND WHETHER! THERE WAS SOME INTENTION KEEP WAR GOING INDEFINITELY WITH POSSIBLE PURPOSE WEAKENING NIGERIA AND UK AND US POSITIONS IN AFRICA. WHILE SOME QUESTION HOW DEEPLY CONCERNED DEGAULLE MAY BE ABOUT PLIGHT OF VICTIMS OF FIGHTING LINDT OBSERVED THAT HE IS A "ROMANTICIST" AND MAY THEREFORE BE ATTRACTED TO SUPPORT OF PEOPLE STRIVING FOR INDEPENDENCE. THERE IS ALSO THE POSSIBLE FRENCH INTEREST IN OIL IN SOUTHEAST NIGERIA. TUBBY

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USIA FOR IBS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP! JANUARY 14.

L'AGOS: DAILY TIMES FRONTPAGES: ENAHORO: STATEMENT IN: LONDON THAT FMG: HAD REBELS QTE: ON THE! RUN: UNQTE: AND: WOULD! NOT BE: PREPARED CONSIDER: CEASE FIRE AS: IT QTE STUPID: UNQTE: ALLOW REBELS: TIME: RECOVER FROM FEDERALI ATTACKS.

(i)

2° TIMES ALSO FEATURED STATEMENT BY OGBY, FMG PERMREP AT UN, NOW IN LAGOS, THAT FMG COUNTER-PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA CAUSING AMERICANS QTE UNDERSTAND TRUE SITUATION IN NIGERIAN CRISIS UNGTE. OGBU NOTED FMG HAD PREVENTED ISSUE BEING DISCUSSED IN UN.

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## Department of State TELEGRAM

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ON ICRC HE REPEATED CLAIM IT HAD OTE INVOLVED ITSELF IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF NIGERIA AND HAD BECOME REBEL AGENCY UNGTE ADDED NEXT STEPS UNSPECIFIED UP TO FMG. MOST PAPERS CONTINUE ATTACKS ON ICRC FOR ALLEGEDIAID TO REBELS.

3. PILOT, TIMES, AND SKETCH CARRY STORIES FAVORABLE TO VISITING THREE-MAN EAST GERMAN TRADE UNIONISTS WHOSE LEADER QUOTED AS SAYING VISIT WOULD GTE FURTHER CONSOLIDATE FRATERNAL RELATIONS UNGTE BETWEEN EAST GERMAN TRADE UNIONS AND NIGERIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS, AS WELL AS GTE BETTER SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PEOPLES OF BOTH COUNTRIES UNGTE.

TRIBUNE, THOUGH NOTING THAT PLAYWRIGHT WOLE SOYINKA QTE: ACTED FOOLISHLY UNGTE, SAID HE SHOULD BE RELEASED AFTER SEVENTEEN MONTHS DETENTION.

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			FROM : Amembassy LIBREVILLE DATE: January 43, 1969	12				
LAB TAR	TR	хмв	SUBJECT: Ojukwu's New Year's Message to Biafran People	9				
AIR ARMY	NAVY	DSD	REF :					
J 3	5	34						
10 3	20	16	Enclosed is a copy of a mimeographed New Year's message to the	7				
			Biafran people from OJUKWU. The copy was sent to the Embassy pre-					
SUGGESTED [	DISTRIB	UTION	sumably by the Libreville Biafran representative.					
			and friendlessness in the face of the "unholy alliance of Nigeria, Britain and the Soviet Union" to new promise for the future at the end of the year, reviews the origins of the war and the alleged perfidy of GOWAN, reserves especially harsh condemnation for Harold WILSON, and cites Ojukwu's continual efforts to achieve peace. The document deals with General ALEXANDER's current					
	OUTING		preparation to carry out "Wilson's plan for a massive 'quick kill'"	!				
TO: Action	Infa.	Initials	As to the United States, Ojukwu's message states: "The United					
осм			States, mesmerized by the visions of the old country, has continued					
POL			blindly to support Harold Wilson in his wicked and outdated military adventure." Later, in alleging that Wilson has little backing, he					
ECON			notes that "the United States, in reviewing its policy, is not con-					
ADM		1	vinced of Harold Wilson." Near the end of his statement, Ojukwu praises those who have approached both sides in the Nigerian con-					
AID	<b> </b>		flict to urge a ceasefire and negotiations and he includes President					
USIS			JOHNSON among those he lists.					
	ļ	ļ	Ojukwu devotes a portion of his statement to his views on relief,					
		-	ceasefire and peace negotiations. He states he proposes a ceasefire	ce				
FILE		<u> </u>	Enclosure:					
Action Taken:			Copy of Message to Biafran					
			People from Ojukwu.					
Date:			UNCLASSIFIED For Deportment Use C	<u>Only</u>				
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and negotiation without pre-conditions saying that "negotiation can cover a wide range of subjects including economic relations and even the possibility of a commonwealth arrangement."

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By Mrara Date | 0 5 05

### AND COLMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BIATA ARMED FORCES

1-6 Librerille

Proud and patriotic Biafrans, fellow countrymen and women, I salute you!

We have survivied yet another year of war as a nation. It has been a year of anxious moments for us all.

We started the year 1968 with what appeared to be a bleak future. Blockaded and besieged, we appeared friendless, isolated and alone. Our adversaries, in spite of the previous failures to meet their deadlines of destruction, had set list warch, 1968 as the day by which Biafra would have been exterminated as a nation. The world which knew all the preparations and the external support at their disposal, believed them. While Gowon and hie junta boasted, our people remained undaunted in spirit and unshaken in their determination to survive. With our armed Forces ill-equipped and out-numbered, we stood firm in faith. In this way we have been able to frustrate the evil designs of the enemy. A small and unarmed people, we have been able to withstand the might of an unholy alliance of Nigeria, Britain and the Soviet Union. For this, we have won the admiration and respect of the right thinking world while confounding and confusing our adversaries.

It is true that the last year has seen the combined forces of the enemy intensify their aggression and determination to destroy us as a people; it is true that part of our God given Territory has been occupied and ravaged by the enemy; we have lost thousands of dear ones by bullets, bombings, straffing, rocketing and starvations our cities and property have been destroyed; our churches and shrines desecrated, our young girls ravished, and our women defiled, hundreds of our kith and kin carried away into savage captivity by the Figerian hordes. We have faced deadlines upon deadlines set by the enemy. Yet, in spite of all these tribulations and deprivations we have continued to survive.

I have said that we started this year isolated and friendless in a world whose conscience and feeling for humanity appeared dead, in a world afraid of the truth and lacking the courage to uracld justice and respect for human lightly. This position has charged.

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By MMARA Date V D 165

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We are no longer without friends. We are no longer isolated. We are no longer without support and understanding. Four progressive African countries, with a leadership honest and courageous, with an independence, confident to obey the call of conscience and humanity, have given us diplomatic recognition. The world as a whole has been awakened to the justness of our cause. Our case is no longer treated with indifference or callousness. In practically all countries of the world, the voice of conscience and humanity is crying out and as a result relief materials are coming in under very difficult circumstances from humanitarian organisations the world over for our suffering people. World leaders have called, in the interest of peace, for an end to this conflict. The future no longer looks bleak. We now face it with confidence and unpretentious hope.

As we think of these things let us not forget, nor allow the world to forget, the real causes of this war. We never started this war. We wore attacked by Nigeria. Indeed we are fighting purely in self-defence and for our security and survival. Despite all our efforts and contributions right through our unfortunate association with the people of Nigeria, we had been suspected, provoked, persecuted, and often times killed. The climax came in 1966 when, with clocklike regularity in May, July, August, Soptember and October, our peoplo, in a manner most brutal, were massacred in different parts of Nigeria. In search of safety and security, we returned home and abandoned every material thing we had earned and possessed in overy part of that ill conceived Federation. We made strenuous efforts for peace but were ridiculed and subjected to perfidy, ill faith, and physical hazards. Our people who had been in salaried employment in Nigeria were denied their salaries. Our share of public funds in Nigeria, running into several million pounds, was denied us. We were blockaded. We were threatened, and we were insulted. At our own initiative we sought respite around the Aburi conference table. At our own insistence top government officials of the erstwhile Federation had mot to discuss mutual accommodation. At our further initiative the Advisers to Military Governors held a meeting in Lagos to search for peace. The Aburi agreements were torn asunder by Yakubu Gowon. All subsequent agreements - indeed the very constitution, were writipled under foot with impunity by Yakubus Gowon, One Hitlabit! face of mounting sufferings and under the threat of death, with no hope of justice, met and decided to assert our right to selfdo tormination.

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On the 30th May, 1967, we proclaimed the Republic of Biafra. That proclamation, taking full segmisance of our georgraphical proximity, extended a hand of fellowship and so-operation to our former colleagues of the Migerian Federation. Gowen's response was to march across our boundaries on 6th July, 1967, in armed aggression against our injured and defenceless people. Today, after 18 months of heroic resistance, with victory clearly sluding the aggressor, we have justified our claims and our right to survival as a nation.

The war rages. Gowen must now have realised that there can be no military solution to this problem. Since September this year, his troops have gained no more of our territory. They have suffered very serious easualties. They are steadily losing what they have seized. In the Awka, Onitsha, Owerri and Aba sectors, our military successes have made it possible for many civilians who had fled; their homes to return.

Our struggle is a people's fight for survival. It is the people's assertion of their rights to self-determination. It is an African struggle against neo-Colonialism, against oppression, against exploitation, against the comfortable myth of racial superiority practised and sustained by our one-time Colonial Masters. The war has continued to this day because of the determination of Harold Wilson to crush a people of progress, of talent and initiative in an area of Africa which his government would like to keep for-ever under its direct economic control and indirect political subservience. Characteristically, the Soviet Union, sensing the break up of the incongruous Federation, has joined in the scramble for influence. The United States mesmerised by the visions of the old country, has continued blindly to support Harold Wilson in his wicked and outdated military adventure.

Harold Wilson is the real obstacle to peace. His attitude and conduct throughout this war have shown that he regards Higeria and Biafra as markets rather than countries, their peoples as chattel rather than human beings, francisto, with no aspiretions and pride. Harold Wilson's autilitude to setting the Bigginson war of genecide against our people has been as contemptous and mean as it has been subjective and denigrate.

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While arrangements for the abortive Addis Ababa peace negotiations were going on, Harold Wilson was busy with the Lagos junta finalising plans for a "quick kill" of the people of Biafra. He shipped to Migeria by air and soa, and in an unprecendented scale, tons of the most sophisticated weapons for use against our people. The agreement by Migeria to attend the Addis Ababa talks was nothing but a hear. Harold Wilson's support for this conference was a more alibi for a crime of murder.

Against mounting British diagust, Harold Wilson, as a diversion, proposed an international observe team, appointed its leader Major-General Alexander, and announced it even before Lagos made public hor decision to invite such a team. Alexander went to Lagos with clear orders - to whitewash the crime and to manipulate and obtain a report favourable to Mr. Harold Wilson.

Harold Wilson's latest trick has again been exposed by no other person than Major-General Alexander himself. While addressing a mosting in London recently he spoke of Wilson's plans for total victory for Nigeria by January 1969. He spoke of Marold Wilson's plan for a massive "quick kill" which would necessitate, first, the complete destruction of our Airports, the strengthening of the Rigerian Air Force with better Pilots to facilitate this, and a further supply of armoured vehicles from Britain and personnel to man them. He spoke of plans to mount more intensified propagands accusing me of being responsible for the starvation of our people. He spoke of advice to Gowen to abandon what is left of his Sandburst days, and to conduct the war with appropriate brutality and ruthlessness. On the question of relief, he said it was the position of the British government and Migeria to insist on a land corridor, which they knew might not be acceptable to us, in order to ensure further starvation which would then be blamed on me personally, at the same time ensuring the success of their military operations. He spoke of the quick end to the conflict after which all relief would be handed over to the Migerian government for distribution by Nigerian Bed Cross. As a necessary preparation for this, Major-Coneral Alexander flow to Companion Priday the 20th of December in a bid to get the Ecric Council or Churches hand over their sallef programme to the International Committee of the Bed Gross. Finally,

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he indicated that he would soon be going to Figoria to supervise the final operations. As I speak to you now, this plan is gathering momentum. Fellow Biafrans, I assure you this plan will surely fail.

I have throughout this statement referred to Mr. Harold Wilson as an indication of our conviction that he is the real energy of the defenceless Biafran people. I say this with full knowledge that the public in Britain do not support him. The Press in Britain does not support Harold Wilson. The Concervative Party in Britain does not support him. The Labour Party and its Executive do not support Harold Wilson. The Labour Parliamentary Group does not support Earold Wilson. His Cabinet, judging from private utterances of its members, does not support Harold Wilson. The Church in England doos not support Harold Wilson. Russia cannot support Harold Wilson. The United States, in reviewing its policy, is not convinced of Harold Wilson. Europe does not support Harold Wilson. Nigeria does not support Harold Wilson. Mon, women and children, maimed and the unmaimed, the sick and the dying, the fit and fighting in Biafra do not, and cannot, support Harold Wilson. Humanity does not support Harold Wilson. The Almighty God, suroly, must have to abandon Harold Wilson.

Our position and conviction have remained that this is a futile war which can settle nothing except to widen the fulf between the people of Biafra and those of Higeria, as well as deepen hatred and increase suffering. It is for this reason that we have spared no pains in working towards the end of the present conflict and the beginning of peaceful negotiations. I have made two journays in search of peace. I have twice offered truce. I have made countless proposals for peace which have all been brushed aside by the Lagos junta new crased by blood lust. The Lagos junta is not interested in peace other than the peace of death. Their attitude to negotiation is only to exert surronder.

Since we ask nothing other than to be left alone, since we are no trees that remain fixed in face of the woodman's axe, ours must be to fight and continue fighting until the threat to our very existence is removed. For us, it is a people's war, a war being fought with the totality of our people behind their government, and a government domonstrating at every surn its true position as servant of the people. Our struggle is nothing new in history;



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it is the traditional struggle of men in society to which everybody is dedicated. If anybody is in doubt, we say again as we have always said, that we accept a plebiscite or referentum conducted or observed by an impartial agent.

This war is a futile one. It can cohere nothing except misery and waste on both sides to the conflict. It is nothing but a diagrace to Africa and can delight no one but the nec-colonialists. Already in addition to this war against Biafra, Rigeria is now facing upheavals which are bound to cause additional misery and suffering to the people of that unfortunate country. The people of Western Rigeria, fed up with the war, have come to realise, though a little too late, its futility. They now live under curfows and marshal law and their attempts to express their feelings have met with military repression. Armics have been let loose in their midst, war planes have practised their murderous skills on their unsuspecting civilians.

In Biafra our people continue to suffer, our institutions continue to stagnate - indeed our progress have remained at a stand-still; our hoes are rusting, the wheels of our industry have ceased-up with lack of use, our men and women for long separated forget the joys of family life with its beautiful laughter. I think of mothers bereaved of their children, children deprived of their parents, the maimed; the sick and the dying; I think of husbands, I think of wives - all these are my someorn. It is for this reason that I sincorely pray that the beginning of the New Year may be a time for every one of us, not only on both sides of the conflict, but also in the world at large, to take stock. It is incumbent upon all to dedicate themselves anew to the efforts of peace, to the elleviation of human suffering, and to the creation of an atmosphere of peace, progress and happiness. We must not forget that history will be the final judge.

No matter what people may say or do, future progress and permane ont peace lies only through three things - seasefire, relief of suffering, and negotiations for a peaceful mettlement.

the current war of generate, I repeat, will continue to deepen bittornoss and fruggers assessed of harmony unless in military brough to an and. Every day of delay hardons attitudes, despense

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bitterness and creates obstacles to peace. We must all seize the opportunity of the New Year and this season of goodwill and peace to cut our lesses while sanity still remains. As for us Biafrans, we stand, in spite of all provocations, all sufferings, all deprivations, all misrepresentations, slanders and libels, for peace. We do this not because we are in doubt of ultimate victory and survival, but because of our genuine consideration for humanity.

My message on this occasion is therefore a message to humanity. It is a message of dedication to peace and justice.

Having said this, I must here deal with the subjects of relief, ceasefire and peace.

On relief, let me ropeat that we welcome relief from any well meaning quarters so long as its receipt does not place the recipients in joopardy. Biafra will, however, never accept relief through Nigeria or from the British and Russian governments which are supporting Nigeria in this war. We have never objected to. air, see and land routes for relief. But it must be emphasized that relief, no matter how massive, can only serve as a palliative. Only the end of the conflict can bring real relief.

On the question of daylight flights, I repeat the offer which I made a week ago in my Christmas message, to make land available to any relief organisation which finds the present night facilities inadequate, to build an Airport or Airstrip for daylight flights. The government of Biafra has never been opposed to daylight flights. It was in order to facilitate daylight flights into Biafra that we built an Airstrip in Uturu and handed it over completely to the International Rod Cross. This Airport was subsequently assembled and seized by the criminal junta in Lagos.

On the question of land and sea corridors, our government has never opposed in principle any such corridors provided the security of our people is not placed in jeopardy. For this reason we continue to propose a completer by such using the liver Higer to Oguta. It has to be remembered that the only reason Gowon's bosses have come to naught has been the effectiveness of our land route obstacles. Nobody in his right mind would therefore expect, under an atmosphere fraught with bad faith and complete insensitivity



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to world opinion, that the leadership of this country would hand over this key of our survival to a faithless energy.

On the vital question of ceasefire and negotiation, we submit that a ceasefire more than any other plan or proposal is the surest and most effective means of bringing relief to the people. Hitherto, we have insisted that there must be a ceasefire before any negotiations; but considering the difficulties and delays associated with a ceasefire before it can be made effective, we propose a truce for a limited and specified period during which arrangements for a ceasefire can be made. During that period too, the much needed relief supplies for the suffering on both sides of the conflict can be brought in without impediments.

We propose that both the ceasefire and negotiations should be without pre-conditions.

As I have mentioned in my discussion with recent foreign visitors, there is a wide area of co-operation of great mutual advantage open to Nigeria and Biafra. Negotiations can cover a wide range of subjects including conomic relations and even the possibility of a commonwealth arrangement.

The overriding requirement is good faith, free of prejudice and mistrust between the parties concerned.

Here, may I seize this opportunity, as I have done in my roplies to those who have written to us, to express our deep approciation and gratitude of the people and government of Biafra to the governments and world leaders who have approached both sides either in public appeals or in private correspondence for a censefire and peaceful negotiations. I must mention in particular His Holiness the Pope, His Imperial Majesty Haile Salassie of Ethiopia, Her Majosty's Government of the Metherlands, the Italian Government and other leading world personalities who have written to me on this subject. I also mention world statesmen like General de Gaulle and the French Government, the Scandinavian Countries, President Johnson, loaders of the Protestant Churches the world over, and others who have made public appeals. We cannot forget the offerts of the World Council of Churches, Caritas Internationalis, the Inter-Church Organisation, the French Red Cross and the International Committee of the Red Cross for what they have done to relieve the starvation

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and sufferings of our people. It is my sincere hope that the efforts and appeals of all of them will not be in vain and that all concerned or involved in this conflict will soise this season of goodwill and the opportunity offered by the New Year, to reconsider their position and end the conflict and war in this part of Africa.

These proposals have been made often enough but our enemies have chosen to assert that they have not been made. All indications are that the enemy is bent on war and conquest. I must warn the Lagos junta that there is no likelihood of their winning this war if for the past 18 months, with all the best advantages, they have not made a deeper impression on our resistance. They have no hope, no, not now that our military position has improved considerably and will continue to improve. Our resistance which has neutralised the enemy advance will double, indeed trable, in the course of the coming year. But war and resistance are not our main concern. Our main concern is peace and that is why we seized the opportunity of the Christmas season to declare an 8-day truce to give the leaders of both sides some respite for reflection. It is a matter for regret that our opponents not only failed to reciprocate our gesture but also failed to honour even their own truce.

Finally, the events of the passing year leave me with a deep feeling of pride and sorrow. As I speak, my mind turns with jayous pride to all those who have through their blood and toil saved our dear fatherland from total destruction. I think with pride of members of our fighting forces, in the different sectors of the war, who are laying down their lives and all that they hold dear in defence of our freedom. I think of our Scientiste, Engineers, Doctors and Murses employing with a determined patriotic seal all the skills of modern science and technology to ensure that both our human and natural resources are full geared towards the struggle for the preservation of our sovereignty. I think of the farmers who labour round the seasons, day and night, making available products of their labour to onsure we do not all perish through hunger and starvation. I think of the volunteer workers, the foreign Missionaries in our midst, the public servants, trade unions, our supply Directorates, the various international relief bodies and their indomitable Pilots and Engineers. I think of our local leaders and many more who have dedicated their time and lives to either helping victime of Migerian atrocities or

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in sustaining the Biafran Revolution.

I also remember with deep sorrow all the victims of their cruel and unjust war - the bereaved, our refugees, thousands of our own kith and kin behind the enemy lines, our brave and gallant men and women who are daily being tortured in Nigerian prisons because they are determined to die proud Binfrans and not as slaves. I salute them all. I salute them again in the firm conviction that their sacrifices would not be in vain as the goal - BIAFRA - the land of the Rising Sun holds the promise of all that we price so dear and cherish.

God grant us all a happy and peaceful New Year.

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Page 1 of 3 Encl. No. 1 A- 19 from Lagos

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Press release from Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos January 4, 1969.

### Asika Speaks on Rehabilitation

It is with great pleasure that I welcome you to this Press Conference. You are aware that following the unfortunate suffering of civilians arising from the current civil war which was unleashed on the people of this country by Mr. Ojukwu and his ambitious collaborators, the Federal Military Governmentt has established a National Rehabilitation Commission in order to provide much needed relief to the suffering masses in the three Eastern States and in some parts of the Mid-West State. The Commission has within the limit of its resources both in terms of relief materials, money and personnel managed so far to aleviate the suffering of the people and to attempt resettlement of displaced persons. However, it is clear that the Commission requires not only the co-operation of the various States but also active participation by the States themselves in its work in order to ensure that relief materials provided both directly by the Commission and indirectly through gifts and donations from foreign governments and organisations reach the people in the affected areas.

Accordingly, as soon as I assumed office as Administrator for the East Central State, and was able to set up my headquarters in Enugu, I commenced a search for an appropriate organisation within the framework of my administration, which will assist the National Rehabilitation Commission in its task and also maintain much needed liaison with it in order to avoid unnecessary duplicate of aid efforts and resources. It is not my wish to use this Conference as a forum for dramatising the plight of the suffering masses in the liberated areas of the East Central State. The facts are now so well known and scarcely require further description here. However, I think that for the purpose of this meeting, I shall merely give a few statistics to show that there exists a need, at the moment, for rehabilitation and relief work on a massive scale in the East Central State. For example, my administration has only just managed to reopen General Hospital Enugu with skeleton staff of one Doctor and 8 nurses. Yet, the hospital attends over 4,000 out-patients daily including 70 in-patients which in view of their condition, could not be permitted to return back to their station. These patients travel many miles on foot mostly along bush paths and arrive at Enugu General Hospital in a state of complete exhaustion merely ready to die. Some die before they get to the hospital due to exhaustion, lack of food and consequent poor bodily resistant against disease. We have managed to provide the General Hospital Enugu with drugs obtained partly from the National Rehabilitation Commission and partly from our lean resources.

There are about 800,000 civilians in Abakaliki and the surrounding areas, 500,000 civilians in Nsukka and the surrounding areas, 200,000 civilians in Udi, Oji and Awgu areas and about 100,000 in Afikpo and Okigwi. These men, women and children do not as I speak to you as yet received the slightest

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Page 2 of 3 Encl. No. 1 A- 19 from Lagos

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medical attention from government. The Doctor, medical and para-medical personnel which are needed for operating hospitals even at a small scale are not available. There are no hospital equipment in these areas; a result of war time disputes and looting drugs are hard to comeby except small quantities which we have managed to send to this area through our field officers. The hospital buildings are in most cases empty and devoid of any equipments, surgical or otherwise. The military authorities have managed to share their limited facilities with civilians in the state. There is some assistance by the work of voluntary relief agencies. But my administration has primary responsibility for looking after the health and welfare of these unfortunate civilians. We have to provide these men, women and children with much needed medical care if they are to survive. And this must be done!

In this connection every assistance no matter how small will be greatly appreciated for; I regret to say we have arrived at the point at which immediate and drastic action has to be taken in order to arrest the dangerous threat of widespread death in the State as a result of the absence of medical

With regard to relief materials like food, I regret to admit that I am now satisfied that all the foodstuffs required by people in the liberated areas of the East Central State cannot be produced within the State. We are approaching a situation where famine may break out in these areas. The National Rehabilitation Commission has within its own limited resources provided foodstuffs in some quantity for distribution to displaced persons in these areas but comparing the numbers which require feeding and the state of abject poverty to which Ojukwu has plunged the men the relief materials so far supplied merely scratch at the surface of the problem. It is therefore obvious that if we are to prevent many more deaths arising from hunger and starvation than as a direct consequence of the war, we must step up the supply of foodstuffs and other relief materials to the liberated areas of my State. I need hardly mention the absence of schools, the wide-spread damage to property, the need for adequate transportation and in fact, the necessity to rebuild the state anew. It is not my purpose at this meeting to present to the world a gloomy picture of conditions in the East Central State without making concrete proposals for dealing with the situation. In order to assist the National Rehabilitation Commission in the excellent work it is currently doing, in order to ensure that relief materials reach the people who really need them, and in order to commence the urgent work of reconstruction, I have today set up a State Rehabilitation Commission for East Central State. This Commission will work within the institutional framework displayed on the wall before you. It will comprise a Chairman and members which will constitute the supreme policy making body of the Commission. The Chairman and its members will be provided with a Secretary and a number of permanent staff. The State Rehabilitation Commission will have a Planning Division which will be charged with responsibility for examining projects requiring urgent reconstruction. There is also Finance and Establishment Division for handling the financial and staff problems of the Commission. There will be a Food and Supplies Unit.

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Page 3 of 3 Encl. No. 1 A- 19 from Lagos

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This is an organisation which I set up immediately upon my assumption of office to provide food supplies to the people at reasonable prices and will have primary responsibilities for the rehabilitation of traders - the backbone to the State economy - by providing facilities for bulk-purchasing and credits. This unit has been functioning well for a long time now, and had hitherto operated as separate entity. It is my intention to place it now under the control and supervision of the State Rehabilitation Commission. I have established Relief Division and appointed a Chief Relief Officer whose responsibilities will include distribution of relief materials, the Division will also compile from records, available in State Land Registry details of all landed property in the State in order to ensure when full normalcy returns to the State litigation arising from ownership of land and landed property will be minimised. There is also a Manpower division the purpose of which will be to operate in a way as a Committee to the National Manpower Board. It will however examine particulars of displaced persons in the State with a view to ascertaining the manpower available to it and to arrange their profitable deployment. A Stores Division will be created to handle stores and other relief and reconstruction materials for use by the Commission. In view of the need to act quickly and speedily in our present situation I have established Transport division which will undertake all the transportation problems of the proposed Commission. And finally, in order to propagate the work of the Commission I have set up Public Relations Division within the framework of the Commission. This division will be charged with responsibility for publishing the work of the State Rehabilitation Commission.

As an interim measure I have appointed the Secretary of my Administration as Chairman of the State Rehabilitation Commission. He will be assisted by three members, 1 Military representative from the No.1 Division Main, Nigerian Army, Enugu, the Head of the Ministry of Works in my Administration, and the Head of the Ministry of Health, Enugu. The Secretary of the Commission will be Mr. G. Ofodile who is also at present the Chief Relief Officer of the State Rehabilitation Commission. I hope very soon to announce the appointment of a permanent Chairman of the Commission and its members. These will be men, of honour and integrity and of considerable experience. For the moment, however the task before my Administration is great and I am determined to face it with all the resources at my disposal. My Administration requires assistance not only from the National Rehabilitation Commission from which it has received great assistance in the past, it also requires assistance in any form and of whatever type from Governments both local and overseas, humanitarian organisations both local and abroad and industrial establishments both local and overseas. Gifts in the form of money, clothing, drugs, foodstuffs, building materials, hospital equipments, vehicles of all description and other materials will be greatly appreciated. The task before my Administration is great but I am confident that with goodwill on all sides and faith in God we will succeed.

Thank you.

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position push effectively for cease-fire. Soviet Union only big power beneficiary of Nigerian conflict, he said. He rejected idea attempts by great powers to impose solution would amount to outside, neo-colonial interference in internal African problem. QTE I feel this is a great power dispute, not a tribal conflict. The reason situation in Biafra has reached starvation level is because elements of war have been introduced into Nigeria-Biafra by great powers. The people are just pawns in the struggle UNQTE. While continuing chide State Dept for QTE lack of urgency UNQTE dealing with conflict, he said he encouraged by decision make eight C-97G transport planes available relief agencies flying supplies into Biafra-held territory in former Eastern Region. Said this decision reflected rising concern in US about plight Biafrans. QTE Any time we have a broad degree of concern expressed by the people we are more likely to get action from the Department UNQTE. Asked about Lagos complaints relief flights without FMG approval would mark violation Nigerian airspace, Kennedy said humanitarian considerations must override such QTE petty political objections UNQTE. QTE We are not talking about scoring debating points where millions of lives are at stake. The essence of international law-is humanism. It springs from divine law, from natural law UNQTE.

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Page 3 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS ACTION:

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He also argued QTE essence of statism is control UNQTE. If control of territory claimed by Nigeria but held by Biafran forces is in dispute, whole problem takes on a QTE contested quality UNQTE. He made clear his continued interest in boosting aid shipments to war victims, promised fight for extra appropriations if they needed. But during course interview, he appeared even more absorbed by notion time is approaching for direct American diplomatic initiatives bring about cease-fire. Concluding time about run out on his December appeal President Johnson, he expressed hope Nixon would accept his proposal. Presidential rep should be man international stature with confidence African leaders - Ethiopian Emperor in particular - and be able deal with London and Paris.

2. Sterne article continues: in contrast Kennedy position, Senators Pearson (Kansas) and Brooke (Mass) sent letter to their colleagues today asking support for joint resolution calling for greater American relief efforts, but avoiding mention cease-fire. This reportedly reflected their belief cease-fire regarded as QTE pro-Biafran and anti-Lagos UNQTE in Africa and would only serve complicate situation. Pearson-Brooke letter also displayed caution about kind direct American initiatives advocated by Kennedy. They wrote QTE as you no doubt aware the growing

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war is posing increasing challenge to American foreign policy. On one hand we faced with human tragedy of shocking proportions, yet on other MEX we have to recognize these deaths are by-products of an internal question Africans are quite anxious resolve themselves UNQTE. Pearson and Brooke said it purpose their resolution put Congress on record in favor significant increase in aircraft funds, food and personnel available to relief agencies aiding war victims. Although Sen Pearson last fall said aid shipments should go into Biafra only with Lagos consent, his purposed resolution purposefully vague on this point. He explained today problem has become QTE the tougher UNQTE and he no longer advocates such a proviso. Pearson-Brooke resolution to be introduced in both Senate and House next week and may provoke considerable debate on US proposed in Nigerian civil war. Chief sponsors in House will be Congressmen Fraser and Morse, both members House African Affairs subcommittee.

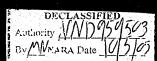
3. Wash Star Jan 8 and Post Jan 9 report from Geneva Equatorial Quinea forces halt in Red Cross aid to Biafra. Dispute between GEG and ICRC has halted distribution relief supplies on which 850,000 Biafrans dependent

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	大大,一个两点大车, <sub>"</sub> 这是我们在你的,这是这个大块,你只要你的一个,我们就没有一个大块,我们就是这个大块,就是这个大块,我们也不是这样的。""我们就是这个人,这

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ACTION: Page 5 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

according ICRC spokesman. He said dispute concerns EG's refusal allow ICRC fly fuel to Uli airstrip, confirmed reports GEG ordered ban on grounds some of fuel used by Biafran military vehicles in civil war. ICRC run Red Cross vehicles which distribute relief supplies throughout Biafran countryside. ICRC has flown in as much as 100 tons relief supplies in a single night.

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SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP JAN 09

I. MAJOR COVERAGE GIVEN IN ALL PAPERS TO: STOP AT LAGOS AIRPORT OF DAHOMEY PRESIDENT ZINSOU; EN ROUTE TO PARIS. HE WAS MET BY HEAD: OF THE FMG GENERAL GOWON, NUMERIOUS OTHER HIGH FMG OFFICIALS. IN PRESS: STATEMENT, ZINSOU EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR FMG AND OTE ONE NIGERIA UNGTE. CONDEMNED SECESSION IN ANY PART OF AFRICA, AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT GOYO WOULD BRING PEACE AND UNITY TO NIGERIA. STATED THAT HE WOULD SEE DE GAULLE DURING VISIT TO: PARIS AND OTE IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS IMPRESS ON HIM CURRENT MILITARY OPERATION TO CRUSH REBELLION IS INTERNAL AFFAIR OF NIGERIA UNGTE.

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# Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 00188 091441Z

2. POST AND SKETCH CARRY WIRE SERVICE REPORT ON CESSATION.
OF ICRC FLIGHTS: FROM FERNANDO PO TO BIAFRA BECAUSE OF
REFUSAL OF GOEG TO ALLOW FLIGHTS: TO CARRY FUEL WHICH
ICRC SAYS: MUST BE TAKEN: IN TO DELIVER RELIEF SUPPLIES
WITHIN REBEL-HELD AREAS.

3. ALL: PAPERS REPORT ON CW PM CONFERNCE: IN LONDON, WITH MEMPHASIS GIVEN TO AWOLOWOLSTATEMENTS AND PLANS TO MEET PRESIDENTS OF TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA FOR PRIVIATE TALKS.

ARTICLES ALSO GIVE PLAY TO REPORTED NIGERIAN REJECTION OF FORMATION OF A COMMONWEALTH MISSION TO SEEK END TO CIVIL WAR.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State POL 27 BIAFR A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DOLD BOAU STATE OF Classification XRPOL BOAU STATE OF Classification XRPOL BOAU STATE OF CLASSIFICATION AMERICAN STATE OF CLASSIFICATION STATE OF CL Amembassy LUSAKA 9 JAN 69 22 ACTION: STATE SUBJECT: Presidential Letter 1. Embassy requested deliver following letter from President to President Dear Mr. President: It was good to hear from you again after our recent exchange of views on Southern Rhodesia. The United States certainly shares your concern over the important questions of Portugal's administration of its African territories and the tragic civil war in Nigeria. The Government of Portugal has long been aware of our strong support of the principle of self-determination in Africa and around the world. We have often made it clear that Portugal should abide by this principle in her African territories. Thus far, as you know, the Portuguese authorities have not agreed with these urgings. We shall continue this important dialogue with them, however, in the interests of peaceful progress in Southern Africa. I need not describe the deep distress of my countrymen over the sad and Revised Text Received buted by Revised Text Received from White House AF/SE:(LKinter; reb AF/W - Mr. Meldorng (draft) EUR/SPP - Mr. Gebert (draft) 8/8 - Mr. Brown (A) LIMITED OFFICIAL USE Classification FORM DS-322

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By Whara Date V 5/67

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# Pol 27 Biofra-Kigeria Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 BONN 00345 091843Z

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C. O. N. F. I D. E. N. T. I. A. L. BONN 345

SUBU: BRITISH REQUEST FOR COORDINATED APPROACH TO GERMANS RE BIAFRA

I. TENISON, COUNSELOR OF UK EMBASSY HERE, APPROACHED COUNSELOR ON ISTRUCTION WITH REQUEST THAT THIS EMBASSY CONSIDER SEPARATE BUT PARALLEL INFORMAL APPROCAH WITH BRITISH TO FEDREP FONOFF AT WORKING LEVEL IN ORDER TO URGE GERMANS TO INTERVENE WITH FRENCH TO STOP THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO BIAFRA. THE EMBASSY REQUESTS INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT.

2. TENTSON SAID THAT GERMAN FONOFF ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FRANK HAD EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT EAST GERMAN PENETRATION
IN NIGERIA AT THE PERIODIC BOLITICAL DIRECTORS DISCUSSION
IN LONDON THIS AUTUMN. TENSION STATED THE GERMAN CHARGE
IN LAGOS HAD SUBESEQUENTLY APPROACHED THE UK EMBASSY THERE AND
ASKED FOR HELP IN COMBATTING THE EXPANDING INFLUENCE OF THE

3. IN THE BRITISH VIEW. THE PROBLEM IS TO BRING THE GERMANS TO TAKE THIS ACTION. BRITISH EXPERIENCE ON SIMILAR MATTERS SHOWS THAT UNLESS THE US PARTICIPATES THE GERMANS HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO MOVE. THE UK FONOFF WISHED TO SUGGEST THAT THE US CONSIDER AN APPROACH FROM THIS

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# Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02: BONN 00345 091843Z

EMBASSY TO THE GERMANS PARALLEL TO ITS OWN SAYING THAT WE TOO WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE GROWTH OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN WEST AFRICA INDICATING THAT OF THE EASTGERMAN TRADE MISSION IN LAGOS: THAT WE HOPE THE END OF THE WAR WOULD CREATE BETTER CONDITIONS TO CHECK THIS INFLUENCE AND THAT THE MOST DIRECT WAY OF SO DOING IS TO GET THE FRENCH TO STOP SUPPLYING ARMS TO BIAFRA IT WOULD THEREFORE BE IN THE GERMAN AND IN THE GENERAL INTEREST IF THE FRG. WOULD FIND IT POSSIBLE TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH THE FRENCH TO THIS END.

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

# Department of State TELEGRAM

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UNCLAS LAGOS: 162

SUBJECT NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP JAN 8

1. BYS. COVERAGE GIVEN BY ALL PAPERS: TO OPENING OF CW PM CONFERENCE, ESPECIALLY AWOLOWO STATEMENTS ON ARRIVAL IN LONDON AND DENUNCIATIONS OF BBC GIEFPON TO EMBARRASS NIGERIAN DELEGATION UNGTE ON PANORAMA SHOW BY INVITING ONE NIGERIAN DELEGATE TOGETHER WITH BIAFRA REPLOKIGBO, PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND KAUNDA.

2. ALLI PAPERS: CARRY PUBLIC STATEMENTS: MADEL BY PROMINENT IBOURDSINESSMAN CHIEFLOKAFOR, DENOUNCING REBELLION AND TELLING STORY OF HIS AND HIS FAMILYS OTELESCAPE UNDTELFROM REBELL TERRITORY IN LATE NOYEMBER. 1968 HELAND FAMILY SPENT, 33 DAYS IN BUSH GTE EVADING REBELL POSITIONS UNDTEL BEFORE REACHING FEDERAL LINES STATEMENT SAID MANY IBOS FRIGHTENED BY BIAFRAN RADIO PROPAGANDA THAT FMG TROOPS WOULD GTEL SHOOT THEM ON SIGHT UNDTEL AND THUS AFRAID TO ESCAPE INTO

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## Department of State

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EM SKETCH: EDITORIAL TITLED GTE: SHEER VANDALISM UNGTE

(FULL: TEXT IN LAGOS 152 NOTAL:) DENOUNCES AS GTE: INTELLECTUAL
IRRESPONSIBILITY UNGTE: DEMONSTRATION: IN IBADAN WHICH DAMAGED
USIS PREMISES AND DESTROYED US AND UK: FLAGO POINTS: OUT
THAT COST OF REPAIRS MUST BE BORNE BY WESTERN STATE MARKETING
BOARD, WHICH OWNS THE BUILDING AND GTE NIGERIANS WOULD
BE THOSE TO BE DEPRIVED OF CHANCES OF STUDYING AT USIS
LIBRARY WHICH IS NOW CLOSED UNTIL! MONDAY UNGTED ASKS WHY
POLICEMEN MARCHING WITH DEMONSTRATORS DID NOT STOP THEM FROM
DOING DAMAGE AND SAYS THAT GTE IF GROUP, OF STUDENTS AND STAFF
OF A UNIVERSITY CANNOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN SHEER VANDALISM
AND LOYALTY TO NATION, THEN THEY HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES
AS BEING: INCAPABLE: OF, CONSTRUCTIVE: THINKING UNGTED
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RS/R FILES

Attention Ms. DEPARTMENT OF STATE Keep this study together.

Washington, D.C. 20520

COPIES TO: S/S:RF AF/W EUR/AIS

January 8, 1969 9/11/75

This document Bushap public per

Dear Archbishop:

I have been asked to reply to your letter No. 3370/68 of December 26, 1968, to Secretary Rusk, forwarding copies of the letters from His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, to Major General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, and to Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, leader of Biafra.

The United States Government is pleased that it has been able to associate itself with those who have encouraged the resumption of negotiations between the combatants in Nigeria, and specifically, with those who have proposed a ceasefire during the holiday season. President Johnson's statement of December 21, although referring only to Emperor Haile Selassie's ceasefire appeal of December 20 since the initiative of Pope Paul VI was not then public, was issued with the reassuring knowledge that His Holiness was equally concerned.

We continue to hope that the New Year will bring a renewal of peace in Nigeria and that the plight of the suffering people can be more quickly assuaged by the efforts of the international relief agencies.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Eld older

Charles E. Bohlen Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs

His Excellency

The Most Reverend

Luigi Raimondi,

Archbishop of Tarsus, The Apostolic Delegate,

Washington.

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Clearances: EUR: AIS-Mr. Taylor (draft) AF-

s/s-U-

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BY S/S: CMS

16478

POL 27

United States of America

3339 Massachusetts Avenue Washington 8, D. C.

3370/68

NO THIS NO. SHOULD BE PREFIXED TO THE ANSWER

December 26, 1968

Sir:

At the request of the Secretariat of State of His Holiness, I have the honor to forward the enclosed copy of a letter from His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, to His Excellency, Yakubu Gowan, Head of the Federal Government in Lagos, and to His Excellency, Odumegwu Ojukwu in Umuahia. The letter should be considered as confidential matter.

The Holy See will be grateful for whatever support the United States Government can give in encouraging the parties concerned to respond favorably to the peace proposal of His Holiness.

 $\label{eq:Accept} \mbox{Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances} \\ \mbox{of my highest consideration.}$ 

Apostolic Delegate

The Honorable

Dean Rusk property of the A 68

Secretary of State

Washington, D.C.

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By WN, ARA Date 05 95



# His Excellency YAKUBU GOWON Head of the Federal Military Government

LAGOS

This is not the first time that We address Ourself to Your Excellency, with sentiments of affectionate solicitude for your noble and beloved peoples, and of profound sorrow over the sufferings and mourning which still afflict them because of the conflict which regrettably continues.

It is not Our part to suggest specific solutions for the grave problem which has caused so much blood and tears; much less do We wish to derogate - as in fact We have never derogated either by word or deed - from Our impartiality, since this is to Us not only a norm of prudence, but especially a duty deriving from that universal love, inspired by super, natural motives, which We nourish with equal measure for all Our children, and even, through the embrace of Our continual prayers and heartfelt feelings, for all men, of every religion and conviction, giving preference, if at all, only to those who suffer the more.

For this reason it is that, constantly intent upon spreading love and brotherly understanding among individuals and peoples. We have never tired and shall never tire of making appeals for peace, to all those who are at war, Ourself remaining above the conflict in Our effort to extricate those involved therein.

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Authority WN 0959503

By WMARA Date 05/05

The imminent celebration of Christmas awakes in every heart thoughts of peace and love; and it is to such thoughts that We would once again appeal, asking all those in responsible posts to reject motives of opposition and hatred, and instead to heed the voice of concord and cooperation.

Therefore, We implore Your Excellency - as We are doing also with the other side - presenting Ourself, as it were, as spokesman for the conscience of all mankind, kindly to do everything in your power so that loyal negotiations may be resumed for peace, without being discouraged by unsuccessful attempts already made; so that in your lands also there may finally resound the eternally new proclamation of Christmas: "Peace on earth to men of good will!".

To Your Excellency, and to all those who in any way can contribute to the cessation of hostilities and the quest for a just peaceful solution, We renew Our heartfelt appeal to make every possible effort that good will, imagination and heart can inspire; for one cannot believe that it is only along the path of destruction and death that the destinies of peoples must pass.

A resumption of negotiations, with the support of all those whose interest can be useful and desirable, will be blessed by the Lord, Who created men to live together in prosperous harmony, and not reciprocal fratricide.

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So weighty an undertaking, undoubtedly corresponding to Your Excellency's desires and to the wishes of all reasonable persons in good faith, could perhaps be favourably initiated by an act of great importance even for its symbolic value, namely: a concorded respect for the holy days of the Christmas festivities, reserving them not for acts of war but for prayer and yearning for peace.

We cherish the confidence that this new proposal of Ours may receive benevolent and solicitous consideration, particularly by reason of the superior sentiments of impartiality and deep affection which inspire it.

Imploring the Lord to grant every assistance and abundant graces to all the inhabitants of your country, We express to Your Excellency Our sincere and respectful greetings.

From the Vatican, December 19, 1968

Jaulus P. VI-

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BVMMARA Date VD90



His Excellency ODUMEGWU OJUKWU

AIHAUMU

This is not the first time that We address Ourself to Your Excellency, with sentiments of affectionate solicitude for your noble and beloved peoples, and of profound sorrow over the sufferings and mourning which still afflict them because of the conflict which regrettably continues.

It is not Our part to suggest specific solutions for the grave problem which has caused so much blood and tears; much less do We wish to derogate - as in fact We have never derogated either by word or deed - from Our impartiality, since this is to Us not only a norm of prudence, but especially a duty deriving from that universal love, inspired by supernatural motives, which We nourish with equal measure for all Our children, and even, through the embrace of Our continual prayers and heartfelt feelings, for all men, of every religion and conviction, giving preference, if at all, only to those who suffer the more.

Authority WW 0959503

By W. ARA Date 0505

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Imploring the Lord to grant every assistance and abundant graces to all the inhabitants of your country, We express to Your Excellency Our sincere and respectful greetings.

From the Vatican, December 17, 1968

Laulus P.J. VI-



16201



3339 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20008

December 17, 1968

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you that His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, in a new effort to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Nigeria, is sending a letter to the Heads of the two parties, urging a resumption of negotiations leading towards peace and concord.

The text of His Holiness's letter will shortly be available to the Apostolic Delegation and, upon its receipt, I shall be pleased to transmit it to you. Meanwhile, I have been requested to communicate the foregoing confidential information to you.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

anamelinate en 13/9

Apostolic Delegate

The Honorable Dean Rusk Secretary of State of the United States of America Washington, D.C.



### LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# 16478

Washington, D.C. 20520

MEMORANDUM

January 7, 1969

Deputy Under Secretary Charles E. Bohlen

THROUGH:

AF - C. Robert Moore, Deputy Assistant Secretary

SUBJECT: Nigeria: Reply to the Apostolic Delegate Concerning Message

from the Pope - ACTION MEMORANDUM

### DISCUSSION:

The Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Archbishop Luigi Raimondi, has sent to the Secretary of State copies of messages sent by Pope Paul VI to Major General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria and Col. Ojukwu of secessionist Biafra, urging the two leaders to negotiate their differences and specifically to agree to a cease-fire over Christmas and Id-al-Fitr, a Moslem holiday which occurred on December 23 this year. The Vatican is aware of our interest in unobtrusively promoting an early settlement of the war in Nigeria and has offered to assist our efforts in any way possible. The attached messages were provided to us in confidence and have not been made public by either the Vatican or the recipients.

### RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the attached letter to the Apostolic Delegate. (Tab A)

Disapproved

Attachments:

Tab A - Letter to the Apostolic Delegate

Tab B - Letter from the Apostolic Delegate

dated December 26, 1968

Tab C - Letter from the Apostolic Delegate
dated December 17, 1968
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By MINARA Date

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By MM ARA Date 0 5 65

### U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

Research Memorandum

120

RAF-1, January 7, 1969

Through: s/s

INR - Thomas L. Hughes Home L. Hughes

Official French Statements on the Nigerian Civil War: June-December 1968 Subject:

Attached herewith is a compilation of official French public statements on the Nigerian civil war since June 1968. It consists of two parts: I) a brief summary of each statement and II) the

complete texts where available.

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PART I: A SUMMARY OF OFFICIAL FRENCH GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS ON THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR: JUNE-DECEMBER 1968

June 12: Foreign Minister Debre announces that France has declared a total embargo on arms shipments to both Nigeria and Biafra. He adds that France's intervention in the Nigerian-Biafran conflict is purely humanitarian.

July 16: A government spokesman "clarifies" French policy on Biafra; expresses concern over a "serious and bloody quarrel" which is, however, "essentially an  $\Lambda$ frican problem."

July 31: The Council of Ministers calls for Biafran self-determination; asserts that sufferings endured for over a year by the Biafran people show their will to affirm themselves as a people. The French Government believes the conflict should be settled on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination and should entail appropriate international procedures.

August 13: General de Gaulle states that the Nigerian crisis can not be resolved militarily; the only possible solution is a political one which takes the "personality of the Biafran people" into account.

September 9: At a press conference, de Gaulle publicly mentions the possibility that France may at some future date decide to recognize Biafra. He calls for some sort of union of confederation which can reconcile Biafra's right to self-determination. He criticizes the British colonial policy of forcing different peoples into a federal framework. He accuses Lagos of using "war, blockade, extermination, and famine" to bring the Ibos back into submission, and states that France has "aided Biafra within the limit of its possibilities."

October 2: Foreign Minister Debre tells the National Assembly that the Ibos will to resist validates their right to self-determination. He indirectly accuses Nigeria of "a kind of genocide." He says that France is giving humanitarian assistance to Biafra. The Foreign Ministry issues background statement denying that France is supplying arms to Biafra.

October 7: In speech to the UN General Assembly, Debre calls for a halt to weapons shipments that are prolonging the fighting in Nigeria. He challenges Africans to seek a solution to the Nigerian crisis and reiterates French support for Biafran self-determination.

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October 22: Speaking at a meeting of Western European Union Foreign Ministers in Rome, French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Lipkowski calls for an end of arms sales to Federal Nigeria and denies the French are delivering weapons to Biafra.

November 7: Debre (speaking to the French National Assembly) scores British arms sales to Nigeria and reaffirms French support for Biafran self-determination.

December 31: In his New Year's address to the French nation, General de Gaulle reiterates his government's support for Biafran autonomy and says that "valiant Biafra's right of self-determination must be recognized."

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Authority WN 05/5/3

By MMARA Date W5/9

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PART II: TEXT'S OF FRENCH STATEMENTS ON NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, JUNE-DECEMBER 1968

### A clarification of official French Policy toward Nigeria, July 16, 1968:

An official French spokesman expressed his government's concern over the "serious and bloody quarrel" between Nigeria and Biafra, but noted that the conflict was "essentially an African problem." He also pointed out that France had banned all new arms contracts for Nigeria or Biafra in June 1967 and had declared a total arms embargo on June 21, 1968. (Source: AFP, July 16, 1968)

### Statement by the French Council of Ministers, July 31, 1968:

"The human drama being played out in Biafra preoccupies and shocks the French Government. Independent of its concern to participate to the best of its ability in the humanitarian effort now going on, the Government declares that the bloodshed and sufferings that the Biafran people have endured for more than a year demonstrate their determination to affirm themselves as a people. Loyal to its principles, the French Government considers, consequently, that the present conflict should be settled on the basis of the rights of peoples to self-determination and should comprise the setting in motion of the appropriate international procedures." (Source: Le Monde, August 2, 1968 (free translation))

### De Gaulle's September 9, 1968 Press Conference:

"Question: The drama unfolding in Nigeria appears daily more distressing. You have referred several times to the Biafran problem. Could you, Mr. President, give us your opinion on the problem?"

Answer: "I am not sure that the system of a Federation that sometimes replaces in certain places, in some way, that of colonization is always very good or very practical, particularly in Africa. But, not only in Africa. For, after all, that consists in an outright putting together of peoples who are very different and even opposed to one another and who, consequently, do not like it at all. One sees this in Canada. One sees it in Rhodesia, in Malaysia and in Cyprus. One sees it in Nigeria.

Indeed, why should the Ibos, who are mainly Christians, who live in the south in a certain way and who have their own language, why should they be subject to another ethnic fraction of the Federation? For that is what is happening. As soon as the colonizer withdraws his authority in an artificial federation, one ethnic element imposes its authority on the others.

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- 4 -

Even before there was the present drama of Biafra, one could wonder how Nigeria could live in view of all the crises the Federation was going through. And now that there is this heinous, shocking drama, now that Biafra has proclaimed its independence and that the Federation, in order to bring it to heel, is using warfare, blockade, extermination and starvation, how can one conceive that the peoples of the Federation, including the Ibos, will resume their life in common?

In this affair, France has helped Biafra to the extent of her capabilities. She has not taken the action which for her would be decisive: recognition of the Biafran Republic. For, she feels that the gestation of Africa is, above all, the affair of the Africans. Already some states in East and West Africa have recognized Biafra. Others seem to be pointing in this direction. That is to say that, for France, the decision which has not been taken is not excluded in the future. Besides, one can imagine that the Federation, realizing the impossibility of remaining with its present organization, may transform itself into some union or confederation in which would be established both Biafra's right to self-determination and the bonds that would remain between it and the whole of Nigeria." (Source: French Information Service)

### De Gaulle statement to the press, August 13, 1968:

During the course of an August 13 appearance at the French Cabinet General de Gaulle said, commenting on events in Biafra, that considering what was happening and considering the popular response to events, it did not seem possible to him that a military solution could settle the Nigerian problem, although it could gain a foothold. Only a political solution can resolve this question, which can be settled only by taking into account the personality of the Biafran people. (Source: AFP, August 13, 1968)

Declaration of Michel Debre, before the French National Assembly, October 2, 1968:

"...Finally, a conflict with frightful human consequences has opposed the people of Biafra to the leaders of the Federation of Nigeria...

With regard to Biafra, in the presence of actions of an unprecedented brutality and a kind of genocide, our administration, with the collaboration of the French Red Cross, has been able to furnish important supplies and precious medical assistance. In collaboration with the government of Gabon, and thanks to the devotion of Frenchwomen and Frenchmen, we are establishing relief hospitals for the hundreds and even the thousands of children evacuated in a physical state that recalls the worst horrors of the last world war. This humanitarian effort is not enough. By its numerical

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- 5 -

importance, measured at more than ten millions, the Tbo people do not represent a minority in the bosom of a state. They have been an important element composing a federation, and their will to resist proves the extent to which they have the right to self-determination. We have said this. We will not stop saying it. The military events, the bloody repression, the artificial political divisions do not keep the problem from existing, and one can only regret the large supply of arms to the government of Lagos that has permitted, first of all, a great slaughter, and then the maintenance of a situation from which all of Africa will, one day, suffer.

Whether it is a question of Czechoslovakia, Vietnam, the Middle East, or Biafra, we see the same failure to recognize the right of peoples to run their own lives, the same failure to recognize the necessary cooperation among states and peoples: in other words, the same failure to recognize the rules without which there is only tension and intolerance, confrontation and conflict.

It is the call for the necessary respect for these rules that will make necessary the declaration in the name of the Republic I plan to pronounce soon at the rostrum of the United Nations, and where I will recall that there is nothing worse for peace than the maintenance of a state of things where violence pays, that is to say, where those who employ it triumph to the detriment of just law.

Certainly, there are not only danger spots in the world. An exhaustive discussion would show more happy aspects of the world situation, and recalling the whole of our diplomatic activity would permit you to appreciate the results we have obtained in the areas of economic expansion, cultural relations, and political collaboration, notably in Europe and Africa..." Source: Le Monde, October 4, 1964 (free translation)

Foreign Minister Debre's Speech to the United Nations General Assembly, October 2, 1968:

"...In Africa, the refusal to recognize the right of peoples to self-determination was marked up to now by the oppression and humiliation which certain African populations experienced. All the progress needed has not yet been made, and I will return to this later. But how could one fail to denounce the Biafra drama, the martyrdom of the Ibo people, that tragedy which the world community has contemplated and discussed--and I might say, still contemplates and discusses--without trying to put an end to it?

Of course, it is necessary that food and medication arrive as quickly as possible wherever their need is cruelly felt, and we must strongly denounce the obstacles that still continue to stand in the way of delivering assistance. But it would be even more necessary and useful if a halt were put to the shipment of weapons that are prolonging the fighting.

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- 6 -

Beyond this, we should note that, despite the inequality of the opposing forces, the determination of the Biafrans has not flagged. Each day it becomes more manifest that only a solution based on the incontestable personality of that people, and consistent with the principle of self-determination inscribed in our Charter, can settle that painful problem. The French Government desires such a solution.

Quite often, in these halls, eloquent voices have been raised to condemn the action of the colonizers at the expense of peoples who claim the right to govern themselves. These voice requested that the great movement of nationalities which has changed the face of Europe might extend throughout the globe and that the freedom of determining their destiny themselves not be the monopoly of the white peoples. The time has come when we must ask our African friends what they themselves expect to do about this principle and to remind them of what the Europeans have learned from long experience: it is that, among brothers, intolerance can reign. To remain silent too long, to remain inactive when blood is flowing and famine is spreading, undermines the new prestige of Africa. It is a constant and faithful friend of the Africans who, from this rostrum, says this with concern, but also with confidence in their forthcoming reaction." (Source: UN speech, informal translation)

Statement by Foreign Minister Debre before the French National Assembly, November 7, 1968:

Foreign Minister Debre gave no indication of any change in French policy toward Nigeria/Biafra during his reply to a critical question by a deputy during the November 7 budget session of the National Assembly and he continued to place the blame for conflict on the U.K. Debre went so far as to claim that France is the only country which has embargoed delivery of arms to both sides and then added that if England did likewise, the problem could be more easily resolved. He repeated dedication to self-determination as justification for the French position and said that the conflict has arisen because of faulty British colonial policy oriented toward idea of federation. (Press reports)

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POL27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

## Department of State

**TELEGRAM** 

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RI Ø61445Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4289 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA AMEMBASSY ALGIERS AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY DOTTAWA USMISSION USUN CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA DIA

CCO NI FLIDDE NET I A LI LAGOS: 101

SUBJECT: OBSERVER TEAMS TRUCE BREACH

REF: LAGOS: 057 fl 27 broken mylrin

1. FURTHER TO REFITEL GENERALI MILROY HAS TOLD DATT THAT THREE REBELL OFFICERS APPROACHED FED POSITIONS:
ONL 21 DECCINI ABA AND STATED THEY HAD SOME 368
SOLDIERS WHO DESTRED TO SURRENDER. ACTING COMMANDER
AT PHIRADIOED TO ADEXUNLE WHO WAS VISITING IN LAGOS.
ADEXUNLE SUBSEQUENTLY GAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE AT IKEUA
BEFORE RETURNING TO PHIAND INVITED THE OBSERVERS TO
PHITO MEET THE REBELL PRISONERS.

2. AFTER SEVERALI DAYS OF FRATERNIZATION. THE THREE:
REBELS WERE GIVEN A LANDROVER TO RETURN TO THEIR OWN
LINES FOR PURPOSE OF BRINGING IN THE SURRENDERING REBELS.
AFTER SHORT TIME THE REBELS LAUNCHED HEAVY ATTACK
AGAINST FED POSITIONS WHICH FORCED THE FEDS TO WITHDRAW
AND GIVE UP HIGH GROUND TO NORTH OF ABA NEAR TV STATION.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 00101 061928Z

3. WHEN THE OBSERVERS REACHED PHITHEY FOUND ONLY ELEVEN REBELL PRISONERS.

4. MILROY VISITEDI ALLI BRDI DIVISIONI SECTORS: EXCEPT
OWERRI ANDI AHOADA. ALTHOUGHI HE SAW NO VISIBLE EVIDENCE:
OFI MASSIVE BUILDUP: HE! TOLD DATT HE HAS: IMPRESSION: MAJOR
FMG! OFFENSIVE IMMINENT.

GP-3 . MATHEWS

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## POL 7 BIAFRA POL 37 BIAFRA - NIGERIA XR

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PAGE 01 GABERO 00010 061121Z

ACTION AF 16

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P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, ACDA 16, RSR 01) 10 13,

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R Ø6Ø53ØZ JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY GABERONES TO SECSTATE WASHDC 885 INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY PARIS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GABERONES Ø10

1. DELEGATION OF THREE BIAFRANS - MICHALE OKPARA, EDEM EYO BASSEY, AND 0. IKAPA - SPENT THREE DAYS IN GABERONES OVER NEW YEAR'S BREAK, PLUGGING BIAFRAN VIEWPOINT. THEY SEEMINGLY HAD LITTLE TROUBLE GAINING ACCESS TO HIGH OFFICIALS, WERE RECEIVED BY MINSTATE FOR EXTAFF NWAKO AND OTHERS. BIAFRANS WERE EAGER MAKE THEIR PITCH PRIOR TO DEPARTURE OF GOB DELEGATION TO COMMONWEALTH PM'S CONFERENCE. NWAKO IS ON DELEGATION.

2. BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS, GOVT HANDOUT, STATES BIAFRANS CALLED FOR "CEASE FIRE AND DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS IN CALM AND PEACEFUL! ATMOSPHERE". ARTICLE STATES ENVOYS VISITING OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES, CONCLUDES "BOTSWANA IS ONE OF THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAS NOT YET RECOGNIZED BIAFRA". ACTING PERMSEC IN OFFICE OF PRESIDENT TELLS ME HE HAS NO INDICATION THAT THIS MEANS GOB CONSIDERING RECOGNITION OR OTHER PROBBIAFRA MOVE. NEVERTHELESS, ONE SENSES: REAL GOB UNEASINESS OVER PROLONGED: WAR AND ATTENDANT SUFFERING. GOB WILL PROBABLY SUPPORT ANY HOPEFUL! INITIATIVE AIMED AT ENDING CONFLICT PROBABLY SUPPORT ANY HOPEFUL! INITIATIVE AIMED AT ENDING CONFLICT OR ALLEVIATING ITS EFFECTS. ONHERRON ...

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# POL 27 BIAMA-LIGGENIA Department of State TELEGRAM

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HO 69

PAGEF 01 GENEVA 00046 081513Z

41 ACTION AF 16

INFO 10 13, CIAE: 00, DODE: 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE: 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC: 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12 RSR 01, SAH 02, SCA 01, /098 W

R: Ø81429Z JAN 69: FM: USMISSION: GENEVA TO: SECSTATE WASHDC: 9974 INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS: AMEMBASSY LOME: AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE! AMCONSUL: DOUALA

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SUBJECT: NIGERIA: BOMBING OF ICRC HOSPITAL IN BIAFRA

1. ICRC JANUARY 7 ISSUED FOLLOWING PRESS: RELEASE (UNNECESSARY WORDS: OMITTED):

QUOTER GENEVA (ICRC) - A HOSPITAL OF THE ICRC IN BIAFRA LOCATED AWO HOMAMA WAS BOMBED JANUARY 5 AT 5 30P ME BY A NIGERIAN AIRCRAFT.

ASSRESULT, THERE WERE FOUR DEATHS, A WOMAN AND THREE CHILDREN, AND TWO SERTOUSLY WOUNDED, A MAN AND A NEW-BORN CHILS.

ICAC HAS ADDRESSED NOTE: OF PROTEST FROM GENEVA TO GOVERNMENT NIGERIA IN LAGOS.

THE HOSPITALL IS YERY CLEARLY MARKED WITH LARGE RED CROSS EMBLEMS. SITED ON OPEN GROUND CONSIDERABLE DISTANCE FROM ANY MILITARY INSTALLATION. TWO TEAMS FRENCH DOCTORS PLACED AT ICROSS DISPOSAL BY FRENCH RED CROSS ARE WORKING THERE AT THE MOMENT. HAVE TAKEN CHARGE OF SEVERAL HUNDRED SICK AND WOUNDED AND ARE SUPPLIED IN FOOD AND MEDICINES BY THE SANTA ISABEL BIAFRA AIRLIFT. THERE ARE NO CASUALTIES AMONGST MEMBERS OF ICRC PERSONNEL.

THIS IS THE SECOND TIME WITHIN A MONTH THAT THIS HOSPITALL HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY ATTACKED BY NIGERIAN AIRCRAFT. UNQUOTE TUBBY

MICHULITMEN BA BENE

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Bv Mr Ara Date 0 565

Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 STATE W01415

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DRAFTED BY: AFVW:RPSMITH
APPROVED B: ROBERT PESMITH NIGERIAN TASK FORCE AF-AMBASSADOR MOORE SZS-0:MR. HEYMANN 65694

031559

O 05 843Z JAN 69 ZFF4 FM SECSTATE WASHOC ACTION OF THE TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 001415

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION ADDIS ABABA, LAGOS, LONDON JANUARY 4 QUOTE SECRET STATE ØØ1415 PL 27 Bigna - Mignin

EXDIS

REF: LAGOS: Ø81: ADDIS Ø39

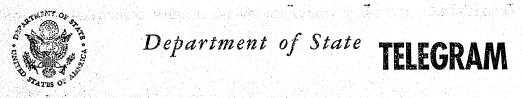
1. HIM UNDOUBTEDLY ATTACHES, AS WE DO, GREAT IMPORTANCE TO EARLIEST POSSIBLE DELIVERY OF HIS MESSAGE TO OUUKWU, AND WE ARE HOPEFUL ARRANGEMENTS WILLIAMS INSTRUCTED WORK OUT IN SANTA ISABEL WILL ACCOMPLISH THIS PURPOSE. HOWEVER, IN LIGHT OUR OWN POOR COMMUNICATIONS WITH FERNANDO PO AND IN ABSENCE ANY PRESENT ASSURANCE THAT LINDT WILL BE WILLING OR ABLE DELIVER REFTEL MESSAGE, BELIEVE IT WOULD BE WISE TO INSURE DELIVERY BY OTHER MEANS ASAP+ OTHERWISE WE RISK DANGER EMG REACTION BEFORE BLAFRANS INFORMED.

2. WE RECOGNIZE DIFFICULTY IN REACHING KEY IEG OFFICIALS DURING HOLIDAY PERIOD. YOU SHOULD, HOWEVER, MAKE EVERY EFFORT CONVEY ABOVE, AND SUGGEST IEG MAY WISH CONSIDER INSTRUCTING ITS AMBASSADORS IN LONDON OR NEW YORK TO PASS HIM.S MESSAGE

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TO BIAFRAN REPS THOSE CITTES FOR ONWARD TRANSMISSION TO UMUAHIA.

3. YOU SHOULD ALSO INFORM IEG OF ENAHORO'S PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT REPORTED LAGOS REFTEL AND FOLLOWING JAN 4 AP. TICKER ITEM: GTE OFFICIAL STATEMENTS FROM BOTH SIDES IN NIGERIA'S CIVIL WAR INDICATED TODAY THE ROAD IS CLEAR FOR DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT FROM OUTSIDE NIGERIA INTO REBELL CLEAR FOR DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT FROM OUTSIDE NIGERIA INTO REBELHELD BIAFRA. THE FEDERAL COMMISSIONER FOR INFORMATION, CHIEF
ANTHONY ENAHORO, TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE THE FEDERAL GOVERN
MENT WOULD ALLOW THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS TO SUPERVISE
A DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT AND THAT WHATEVER AIRSTRIP IT CHOSE
WOULD BE SAFE FROM ATTACK. NIGHT FLIGHTS ARE A RISK. BIAFRA'S
INFORMATION COMMISSIONER, I.Y. EKELSAID FRIDAY HE WAS
APPEALING TO FOREIGN POWERS, THE VATICAN AND THE
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY TO SET UP A DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT.
HIS REMARKS WERE BROADCAST BY RADIO BIAFRA. A SECONDIBIAFRA
PROPOSAL--LIMITED CEASE-FIRE AIMED AT LEADING TO NEGOTIA-PROPOSAL -- LIMITED CEASE -FIRE AIMED AT LEADING TO NEGOTIATONS -- WAS TURNED DOWN HERE. BIAFRA HAS HUNG BACK FROM DAYLIGHT
RELITE FLIGHTS UNDER THE APPARENT FEAR THAT FEDERAL PILOTS WOULD BE ABLE TO SPOT THEIR MAIN AIRSTRIP AND COME BACK LATER TO ATTACK IT. ENAHORU INDICATED THERE WERE NO ASSURANCES THIS: NIGERIA'S AIR FORCE KNEW WHERE IT WAS ANYWAY . UNGTE .

4. WE REGARD THESE AS GENERALLY HOPEFUL STONS WHICH. WERE IF NOT FOR HIM'S OWN PROPOSAL, MIGHT HAVE PROVIDED BASIS
FOR PUBLIC STATEMENT OF SUPPORT BY HIM AND PERHAPS REQUEST
TO BOTH SIDES TO SEND REPS TO ADDIS TO WORK OUT MODALITIES OF
DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS WE ASSUME, HOWEVER, THAT HIM WOULD AGREE
OUR STRONG FEELING THAT ANY SUCH ACTION AT THIS POINT COULD
WELL DESTROY HIS OWN PRIVATE INITIATIVE BY FORCING ONE OR OTHER OF PARTIES TO TAKE PREMATURE AND PERHAPS UNHELPFUL PUBLIC POSITION. SIGNED RUSK UNQUOTE. RUSK

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Pol 27 Biogra - Higeria O OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State INDICATE: COLLECT SECRET 21 Classification ACTION: Amembassy LONDON IMMEDIATE 5 JAN 69 USMission GENEVA IMMEDIATE Amembassy ADDIS ABABA INFO: Amembassy LAGOS STATE EXDIS (a) State 1415; (b) Addis 56; (c) Addis 39 1. Reftels being repeated addressees. FOR LONDON: As suggested ref (b), London should pass to IEG Ambassador soonest text contained ref (c) for onward transmission Umuahia through Biafran rep London. Report results. 3. FOR GENEVA: You should not rpt not take action suggested para 2 ref (b) unless informed that Lindt has been unable transmit text and London is unable proceed as outlined para 2 above. You should be prepared follow through immediately, however, if other attempts to transmit message fail. RUSK Draftad by: AF/W Robert P. Smith 1/5/69 AF - Ambassador Moore SECRET Classification FORM DS-322

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# Department of State TELEGRAM

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84-S ACTION AF 16

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NSAE: 00, USUE: 00, GPM: 04, NSC: 10, SP 02, SS: 20, RSC: 01, L: 03, H 02,

INR 07.P 04.AID 28.SCS: 04.SCA 01.SR 01.ORM 03.SAH 02.ACDA 16.

NIC 01 RSR 01 / 154 W

031791

OFP 052100Z JAN 69

FM: AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO: SECSTATE WASHDC: IMMEDIATE 8050

AMEMBASSY ADDIS: ABABA

INFO: USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

SATE GRNC

SECOR ET LONDON 671

REFI STATE 1434 VENILA

1. DELIVERED TEXT OF EMPEROR'S MESSAGE TO OJUKWU TO ETHOPIAN AMB 21 5 LOCAL. AMB WISHES RECEIVE SOME DIRECT WORD FROM IEG BEFORE PROCEEDING TO CONTACT BIAFRAN REP LONDON.

2. SUGGEST MOFA PHONE; OR TELEX AMB SOONEST TO CONFIRM THAT THEY WISH HIM: TO PROCEED.

BRUCE

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By Whara Date 0 5 60



-POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA RE POLLY -9 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

## Department of State

SECRET 183

PAGE 01 PARIS 00119 051218Z

20 ACTION AF 16

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DODE: 00, GPM 04, H 02 INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20,

USIA 120NSA 027RSR 010AGR 200E 150COM 08,/194 W

POR 37 BIATER NIGERIA R 051150Z JAN 69 POL23 ABIATRA NIGERIA FM AMEMBASSY PARIS TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9532 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA AMEMBASSY LAGOS AMEMBASSY LONDON

S ELC RE T PARIS Ø119

REF & STATE 293150 AND 001232

SUBJECT: JANUARY 4 MEETING WITH DEBRE: NIGERIA-BIAFRA

1 . I EEGAN OUR DISCUSSION ON NIGERIAN PROBLEM BY EXPLAINING TO DEBRE THAT HUMAN PROBLEM POSED BY BIAFRA ONE OF GREAT URGENCY WITH US PUBLIC AND US GOVERNMENT . MENTIONED THAT DURING DEC\* 10 LUNCH DEGAULLE HAD SAID TO ME HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE PRODUCTIVE TO CREATE GROUP OF AFRICAN STATES TO ORGANIZE DISTRIBUTION FOOD AND THIS MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE BOTH TO BIAFRA AND NIGERIA. I SAID I UNDERSTOOD THIS IDEA HAD BEEN UNDER DISCUSSION BETWEEN FRENCH AND AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS AND WONDERED WHAT OUTCOME HAD BEEN.

AFTER CALLING IN QUAL DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS LEBEL, DEBRE REPLIED THAT FRENCH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO BE INTERESTED IN PUSHING IDEA THAT GROUP OF FOUR AFRICAN STATES (IVORY CAST, NIGER, TANZANIA AND KENYA) SHOULD TAKE LEAD IN ARRANGING FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF MEASURES. FRENCH HAVE DISCUSSED THIS WITH AFRICANS BUT HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED RESPONSE . FRENCH BELIEVE LEADERS IN FRENCH AFRICAN STATES UNCERTAIN RE VIEW PUBLIC OPINION IN THEIR COUNTRIES WHICH THEY BELIEVE IS DIVIDED BETWEEN THOSE SYMPATHETIC TO BIAFRAD THOSE OPPOSED. AND THOSE UNCONCERNED. IN THIS UNCERTAIN SITUATION ..

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# Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 PARIS 00119 051218Z

ANDIWITH THE FIGHTING CONTINUING AT A SUBSTANTIAL LEVEL IT IS DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN DECISIVE ANSWER FROM IVORY COAST, NIGER OF OTHERS.

3. I MENTIONED: THAT IDEA HAILE SELAISSIE BE: INCLUDED ÎN
ARRANGEMENT ÎN PERSONAL! CAPACITY (LEBEL®S IDEA REPORTED
PARIS: 24) SEEMED TO: MEI INTERESTING: AND PERHAPS: WORTHWHILE: CONCEPT.
DEBRE: INDICATED: SUCH! A. PLAN: MIGHT HAVE MERIT WHICH:
SUGGESTS: FRENCH! MAY NOT HAVE TOTALLY REJECTED IDEA.

4. I THEN ASKED DEBRE WHAT HE THOUGHT MIGHT BE DONE GET MATTER OFF DEAD CENTER. HE TURNED TO LEBEL AND INQUIRED IF LEBEL THOUGHT IT TIMELY TO PURSUE DEA FOOD DISTRIBUTION BY AFRICAN STATES AGAIN WITH HOUPHOUET BOIGNY. LEBEL SAID YES AND DEBRE THEN TOLD LEBEL TO MAKE NEW OVERTURE TO HOUPHOUET BOIGNY.

5. WITH RESPECT TO PRACTICAL PROBLEM OF HOW TO DISTRIBUTE FOOD. LEBEL'S IDEA IS THAT FOOD WOULD BE DELIVERED ON OCEANSGOING VESSELS TO A PORT LIKE FERNANDO PO. IT WOULD THEN BE TRANSPORTED BY AFRICANS ON BARGES OR LIGHTERS UP NIGER RIVER TO BIAFRAN PORT. I COMMENTED THAT FOOD FROM US SOURCES WOULD PROBABLY BE AVAILABLE IF THIS SYSTEM COULD BE WORKED OUT.

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By MMARA Date 0 5 0

POL 27 BIAFR- NIGERIA NIGERIA X2 POL 27-9 BIAFRADO 1232 OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT CONFIDENTIAL Classification Amembassy PARIS PRIORITY 4 JAN 69 00 Origi ACTION: Amembassy LAGÓS PRIORITY INFO: Amembassy LONDON (a) State 293150; (b) Paris 24; (c) Paris 25189 REF: Your talk with Debre on Nigeria/Biafra SUBJ: 1. French have now at least twice volunteered idea of specific involvement of African states in mediation or policing role between two sides in Nigerian civil war (para 6 reftel b and reftel c). We think it worthwhile probe French along this line if only because (a) French view may be correct that HIM and/or OAU involvement could be stumbling block to Biafran acceptance any new relief or political negotiation arrangement and (b) question of African states involvement seems to us one of last remaining avenues for maintaining dialogue with French. 2. Therefore suggest as supplement to your instructions para 2 reftel a you mention following points to Debre: (A) General deGaulle and Quai African experts have thought out loud in past on possible grouping of African states, including (4) friends of both sides, to manage exchange of relief or even AF/W:DF mith:mb 6402

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White House - Roger Morris

BUR/FBX:JJMaresca

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BV MMARA Date V 5 165

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy PARIS

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assume role of political mediation. USG agrees that maximum African personnel and leadership desirable in these sensitive areas.

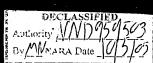
(B) Our view, however, is that Biafran distrust of OAU fully matched by FMG insistence legitimate role OAU as mediation organ, whether in the relief exchange or political talks. We interested more specific French thoughts how this difference could be reconciled. FYI One form of reconciliation which we would prefer not to suggest ourselves to French would be Biafran acceptance of arrangement making use of both OAU and de facto grouping of African states chosen to balance off supporters each side in mediation or relief role. End FYI

END

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FORM DS-322A

CONFIDENTIAL Classification



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State INDICATE: COLLECT CHARGE TO SECRET Classification ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE Amembassy LONDON Amembassy OTTAWA YAOUNDE Amembassy XOUNDE YAOUNDE

/XOUNDE FOR PARKER OR WILLIAMS Code Room: Please repeat Addis Ababa 0038, dated January 3, 1968,★x EXDIS, to above addressees. POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA LEG 7 LOWENSTEIN SOC 3 REDCROSS RUSK AF - Mr. Huebeck S/S - Mr. Kekkf Kelly SECRET Classification FORM DS-322 Row

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

# Department of State TELEGRAM

SECREIT 142

PAGET ØT STATE: ØØ1341

INFO /010 R

DRAFTED BY: AF: MR. HUEBECK APPROVED BY: S/S' - MR: KELLY P: Ø4Ø125Z JAN: 69: ZEL! FM SECSTATE: WASHDC: P 040125Z JAN: 69°ZEL! FM SECSTATĒ: WASHDC: TO: AMĒMBASSY LAGOS: PRIORITŸ USMISSION GENEVA AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

SEELC REELT STATE 00 341

EXDIS:"

FOR PARKER OR WILLIAMS

FOLL-TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM ADDIS ABABA DID 3 JANUARY 1969

QTELADDIS ABABA ØØ38

EXDIS

DEPT PLS PASS AMEMBASSIES LAGOS LONDON OTTAWA AND US MISSION GENEVA

1. AFTER CONSULTATION UK AND CANADIAN AMBASSADORS WHO AGREED WE SHOULD PROCEED REPRESENTATIONS REF. MSG. WITHOUT THEM: BUT WHO WE SHOULD PROCEED REPRESENTATIONS REF MSG WITHOUT THEM BUT WHO REQUESTED THEY AND THEIR GOVTS BE INFORMED RESULTS INCLUDING REPS. LAGOS LONDON, OTTAWA AND GENEVA, I SOUGHT APPOINTMENT FONMIN KETEMA, AFTER CONTINUING FOLLOW-UP, TESFAYER PHONED THIS AFTERNOON AT KETEMA S REQUEST. SAID KETEMA INVOLVED URGENT OTHER BUSINESS AND UNABLE SEE ME TODAY BUT HE; TESFAYES WOULD.

2. ACCORDINGLY; ALTHOUGH SOMEWHAT HANDICAPPED BY POSSIBLE

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## Department of State

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PAGE: 02 STATE: 001341

REFLECTION ON TESTAYE, I COVERED POINTS CONTAINED REF WITH HIM, INCLUDING LOWENSTEIN'S CONCERN THAT HIS MISSION AND CONVERSATION BE KEPT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS (STATE 370). ALSO BRIEFED TESFAYE ON ACTIVE PRESS INTEREST LOWENSTEIN VISIT.

3. TESFAYE THANKED ME FOR DEPTS VIEWS, BUT SAID PRIMINAND HIM HADE DECIDED DIFFICULTIES OF ASSURING EQUAL APPROACH TO FMG AND BLAFRANS BY EMISSARY RULED OUT THIS PROCEDURE AND HAD CONCLUDED BEST APPROACH WOULD BE MSGS OUTLINING GENERAL TERMS PROPOSITIONS AND REQUESTING BOTH SIDES SEND REPS TO ADDIS'S PROPOSITIONS: WOULD BE: OBLIAGO: AIRLIFT WITH CONTROLLED ACCESS TO BIAFRAN TERRITORY AND SLIGHT VARIATION OF ENUGUI PROPOSALI DEVELOPED BY THREE AMBASSADORS LAGOS. VARIATION WOULD CONSIST OF OFFER! INTERNATIONAL CONTROL
NOT ONLY TRANSFER POINT BUT ALSO TEN MILE LONG ROUTE FIVE MILES
EACH SIDE TRANSFER POINT WITH THREE MILE WIDE CORRIDOR I 1/2

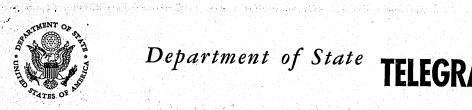
4. MESSAGE ON THESE LINES DISPATCHED THIS MORNING 4. MESSAGE ON THESE LINES DISPATCHED THIS MURNING
LAGOS BUT TESFAYE SAID DIFFICULTY RELATIONS BIAFRA ILLUSTRATED
BY PROBLEMS COMMUNICATIONS HE ASKED ADVICE ON BEST METHOD REACHING
OJUKWU WITHOUT USE CHANNELL OTHER THAN US AND ICRC. I SUGGESTED
RED CROSS CHANNEL AND TESFAYE ASKED IF WE COULD GET
MSG. TO INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS FOR DELIVERY TO OUNKWU.
THIS I HAVE PROMISED TO DO. HE WOULD PREFER MSG BE DELIVERED LINDT IN FERNANDO PO FOR ONWARD TRANSMISSION TO OUUKWU IF LINDT STILL THERE OTHERWISE HE WOULD LEAVE CHANNEL OUR DISCRETION BUT DESIRES MSG REACH OJUKWU WITHOUT USE FACILITIES OTHER GOVTS. TEXT CONTAINED OUR NEXT FOLLOWING TEL.

5. IN AMPLIFICATION REASONS PRIMIN AND HIM REVECTED ETHIOPITANIEMISSARY IN FAVOR CALL FOR MEETING ADDIS: WITH EMPEROR RELUCTANCE SENIOR ETHIOPIANS O BELAWAY DURING CHRISTMAS (JAN 7), KETEMA'S CONTINUING DIFFICULTY WITH AFTER EFFECTS HONG KONG FLU AND HIM ABSENCE IN ASMARA FROM MONDAY (JAN 51) ONWARD HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT DIFFICULTY OBTAINING GUARANTEE FROM OUUKWU THAT ANY SENIOR ETHIOPIAN EMISSARY WOULD NOT BE MISTREATED OR HELD HOSTAGE BY BIAFRANS IF DEVELOPING MILITARY SITUATION WENT BADLY . UNDOUBTED EMG OPPOSITION TO ANY HIM REPUPROCEEDING LAGOS TO BIAFRA ALSO ARGUEDI AGAINST EMISSARY THIS STAGE.

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# Department of State

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PAGE 03 STATE 001341

6. TESFAYE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT OUR PARTICIPATION AS WELL AS BRITISH AND CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN CURRNET MOVES WOULD BE TREATED AS MOST CONFIDENTIAL HE NOTEDNGROWING FMG SUSPICION WESTERN INVOLVEMENT AND EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT IN PRESENT MOOD FMG WOULD BE MOST SUSPICIOUS EVEN OF ETHIOPIAN INITIATIVE HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR OUR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SUPPORT AND SAID HE WAS SURE HIM WOULD HAVE OCCASION TO CALL ONIWS IN FUTURE.

7. IN ELABORATION REASON FOR USELENUGU LAND ROUTE: PROPOSALS AS: WELL AS: OBLIAGO PROPOSAL. TESFAYE SAID HIM: CONCERNED THAT FMG WOULD HAVE LEARNED LOWENSTEIN PROPOSALICAME AS RESULT BIAFRAN TALKS AND IT WOULD THEREFORE BE REJECTED OUT OF HAND. ACCORDINGLY, HE FELT UNWISE PUT FORWARD LOWENSTEIN PROPOSAL ALONE. IEG RECOGNIZED RISK! THAT BIAFRANS WOULD ACCEPT OBILAGO AND REJECT ENUGUI WHILE FMG MAY ACCEPT ENUGUI AND REJECT OBILAGO. NEVERTHELESS, EVEN SUCH ACTION WOULD PROVIDE BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATION AND LEG FELT THIS SAFER THAN POSSIBILITY REVECTION FMG OF OBILAGO PROPOSAL, THUS FORECLOSING POSSIBILITY FURTHER NEGOTIATION.

8. TESFAY SAID IF PROPOSAL FOR MEETING ADDIS REJECTED BY ONE OR BOTH SIDES, HIM THEN FREE SEND EMISSARY ONE OR BOTH SINCE INITIAL APPROACH WOULD! HAVE BEEN BOTH SIDES ON EQUAL BASIS.

9. COMMENT: REGRET I WAS UNABLE REACH KETEMA WITH DEPT'S:
MSG BEFORE HIM DECISION MADE BUT DOUBT THAT REP WOULD HAVE
MATERIALLY CHANGED DECISION GIVEN THE REASONING OUTLINED BY TESFAYE. FROM OUR CONVERSATIONS MY IMPRESSION THAT POINTS REF MSGI WERE! TAKENI INTOLACCOUNT ALTHOUGHLPERHAPS NOT AS FULLY AS THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN HAD OUR REPRESENTATIONS REACHED HIM BEFORE FINALI DECSION. IN ANY CASE, HIM HAS INITIATED ACTION WHICH HOPEFULLY WILL LEAD! TO NEGOTIATIONS. HALL UNGTER RUSK

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Departme INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT SECRET Classification 4 Jan 69 23 ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY INFO: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY STATE EXDIS Ref Lagos 081; Addis 039 1. HIM undoubtedly attaches, as we do, great importance to earliest possible delivery of his message to Ojukwu, and we are hopeful arrangements Williams instructed work out in Santa Isabel will accomplish this purpose. However, in light our own poor communications with Fernando Po and in absence any present assurance that Lindt will be willing or able deliver reftel message, believe it would be wise to insure delivery by other means asap. Otherwise 2mxmWexmensgrauxexdxinxx we risk danger FMG reaction before Biafrans informed. 2. We recognize difficulty in reaching key IEG officials during holiday period. You should, however, make every effort convey above, and suggest IEG may wish consider instructing its ambassadors in London or New York to pass HIM's message to Biafran reps those cities for onward transmission to Umuahia. 3. You should also inform IEG of Enahoro's press conference statement reported Lagos reftel and following Jan 4 AP ticker item: QTE Official AF/W:RPSmith:jms 1/4/68 Robert P. Smith Nigerian Task Force AF - Mr. Palme (in draft) -0 : J. A. Brogar SECRET Classification FORM DS-322

Row

Page 2 of telegram to Addis Ababa; info Lagos, London

### SECRET / EXDIS Classification

statements from both sides in Nigeria's civil war indicated today the road is clear for a daylight airlift from outside Nigeria into rebel-held Biafra. The Federal Commissioner for Information, Chief Anthony Enahoro, told a news conference the Federal Government would allow the International Red Cross to supervise a daylight airlift and that whatever airstrip it chose would be safe from attack. Eke Night flights are a risk. Biafra's Information Commissioner, T. Y. TEXE, said Friday he was appealing to foreign powers, the Vatican and the Organization of African Unity to set up a daylight airlift. His remarks were broadcast by Radio Biafra. A second Biafra proposal--limited cease-fire aimed at leading to negotiations--was turned down here. Biafra has hung back from daylight relief flights under the TEXER apparent fear that federal pilots would be able to spot their main airstrip and come back later to attack it. Enahoro indicated there were no assurances this would not happen but said it was not a vital issue, hinting Nigeria's air force knew where it was anyway. UNQTE.

4. We regard these as generally hopeful signs which, were it not for HIM's own proposal, might have provided basis for public statement of support by HIM and perhaps request to both sides to send reps to Addis to work out modalities of daylight flights. We assume, however, that HIM would agree our strong feeling that any such action at this point could well destroy his own private initiative by forcing one or other of parties to take premature and perhaps unhelpful public position.

RUSKI

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BVMNARA Date 03105



Oct 21 Beafria-rigeria

Department of State

SECRET

ADDIS 00049 040654Z

ACTION SS: 30

INFO: CCO: 00,550: 00,NSCE: 00,/030 W

Z O 040640Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA TO AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE FLASH INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8045 AMEMBASSY LAGOS AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

S. E. C. R. E. T. ADDIS ABABA 0049

YAOUNDE FOR PARKER AND WILLIAMS

REF STATE 0807 PARA 2

AS: NOTED: ADDIS: 038, MESSAGE SIMILAR THAT TO OUUKWU! CONTAINED ADDIS: 039: WAS: SENT DIRECT TO: LAGOS! FOR GOWON! MORNING JAN: 3.

HALLI

SEGRET.

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S/S-0 11	Date January 4, 1969
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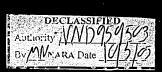


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POL 27 BLAFRA-NIGERIA

## Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 PARTS 00104 041208Z

ACTION SS: 70

INFO SSO 00 NSCE 00 CCO 00 /070 W

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OLØ41145Z/JAN: 69 FM: AMEMBASSY: PARIS: TO: SECSTATE: WASHDC: IMMEDITATE: 9520 INFO: AMEMBASSY: ADDIS: ABABA IMMEDITATE: AMEMBASSY: LAGOS:

AMEMBASSY LONDON

Declassification Date 3/5/7 (Per Strike Coffice AF FADRC Privacy Case No. 25/2-D59

S: ELCORIELT PARIS: 0104

SUBUL CONGRESSMAN LOWENSTEIN AND NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF ADDIS 0050 0 0

1. AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE STORY OUT OF ADDIS CARRIED IN JANUA LEMONDE SAYS THAT "CONFLICT IN BIAFRA, RECENTLY SUBJECT OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE AND ALAN LOWENSTEIN, DEMOCRATIC SENATOR, SPECIALIST IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, AND CHARGED WITH SPECIAL MISSION, IT WAS LEARNED IN ETHIOPIAN CAPITAL".

2. STORY SAYS: THAT "AMERICAN EMBASSY ADDIS DESCRIBED! MISSION AS PRIVATE" AND THAT LOWENSTEIN VISIT BEINGCHANDLED WITH GREAT DISCRETION. HOWEVER IT IS BELIEVED THAT HE INFORMED HIM OF "MISSION HE JUST CARRIED OUT AT LAGOS WITH FMG AND DMUS AHIA WHERE HE MET OUKWU".

SHRIVER

NOTE: LIMDIS CAPTION ADDED PER MR. CHESHES, SYS-0, T/4/69.

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Authority WN 05/5/5/3

By MMARA Date W 5/60

LIMDIS INCOMING TOP SECRET Screener (Time Received) SERIAL 1969 JAN 4 AM 8 09 59 DISTRIBUTION MONTHLY COUNT Secretariat Geographic Other s/s-s AF5 ACDA 5 s/s-o ARA 9 S/S-Screener3 EA 11 AID/EXSEC 3 AA/AFR2 S/S-EX EUR<u>PO</u> NEA<u>8</u> S/S-CMS  $AA/VN \frac{2}{2}$  AA/EA 3S/S-O DIR MilRep\_ Functional AA/NESA 2 Summary Task Force CU E 2 Principals Η̈́ IGA VP ES 2 INR 6 I04 AEC\_3 Ū L2\_ AGR33 OPR M 2 COM2 EXIM S/NL FRB SIG S/AH3 SYLAB WLG  $NAS\overline{A}$ S/AL P2 SCA NIC SA STR S/CPR SCS TRANS s/gov SCI TRSY6 S/IL JUS S/P OTHER AGENCIES IRS S/R INT S/FW WH 10 BOB S/PM CIĀ FBI M/WP DOD CEA US IA 🚜 FAA G/PM NSA File Burned

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# Department of State 27 BIAFRA- NIGERIA TELEGRAM

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SECRET 121

PAGE 01 PARIS 00115 0422512

81-S ACTION EUR 20

INFO RSR 01,E 15,CIAE 00,000E 00,GPM 04,H 02,INR 07, 03,NSAE 00,

NSC 10,P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 20,USIA 12,NEA 13,AF 10,/124 W

P 0422152 JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY PARIS TO ECSTATE WASHDO PRIORITY 9528

SECRET PARIS 115

SUBJI JANUARY & MEETING WITH DEBRE

1. I HAD PROFITABLE HOUR AND A HALF LONG MEETING WITH FONMIN DEBRE TODAY AT WHICH WE DISCUSSED A NUMBER OF SUBJECTS, INCLUDING THE FROPOSED FRENCH SALE OF COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY TO ROMANIA, THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, AND NIGERIA-BIAFRA. THESE SUBJECTS ARE COVERED BY SUBSEQUENT TELEGRAMS.

2. I OPENED DISCUSSION WITH EXPRESSION APPRECIATION FOR EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN DEGAULLE AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND SAID I HOPED RELATIONS ON ENTIRE RANGE POLICY PROBLEMS WOULD CONTINUE TO BE HELD IN FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE WHICH CHARACTERIZED THIS EXCHANGE. DEBRE RESPONDED AMICABLY AND WAS CORDIAL AND FORTH-COMING IN DISCUSSION THAT FOLLOWED.

SECRET

Authority WND954543

By Minara Date U 3405

POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA 0 0 0 9 5 6 OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State SECRET Classification ACTION: Amembassy YAOUNDE IMMEDIATE 3 JAN 69 21 54z XXXXXX FOR PARKER: PLEASE PASS DOUALA FOR WILLIAMS EXDIS 40 / 031545Z Jan 69 to above. Code Room: Please repeat Addis Ababa PUL 27 BIAFRA- NIGERIA END RUSK Drafted by: AF/W:DFSmin: emb 1/3/69 - AMD. NMoore AF/CW - Miss Cook (subs)
S/S - Mr. Brown AF - Amb. Moore SECREE Classification FORM DS-322 Row



# Pol 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA Department of State TELEGRAM

SECRET 178

PAGE Ø1 STATEL ØØØ956

84 ORIGIN SS 10

INFO /010 R

DRAFTED BY:AF/WDFSMITH
APPROVED BY:ROBERT P SMITH NIGERIAN TASK FORCE
AF-AMBOMOORE:
AF/CW MISS COOK (SUBS)
S/S MR BROWN:
66642

025714

O 032754Z JAN 69: ZFF4 FM SECSTATE WASHDC: TO AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE IMMEDIATE:

S E C R E T STATE 000956

EXDIS

FOR PARKER: PLEASE PASS DOUALA FOR WILLIAMS

NOFORN

FOL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM ADDIS ABABA JAN 03, 1969:

QUOTE ADDIS ABABA 40

ECX D I S/N D F O R N:

REF: ADDIS 38

1. IN CONVERSATION WITH TESFAYE. I MENTIONED ACTIVE FRENCH
INTEREST THROUGH AFP AND SINCE THEN THROUGH FRENCH EMBASSY ADDIS
IN LOWENSTEIN CONVERSATION AND ALSO DEPT'S CONCERN ABOUT
ABIDUAN AND NAIMEY AS MEETING PLACES. TESFAYE AGREED FRENCH
IN SPOILER ROLE CITING EARLIER EXPERIENCE WHEN DE GAULLE
STATEMENT TORPEDOED ADDIS TALKS IN EARLY STÂGE. HE! SAID HE HAD
CONCLUDED FRENCH AFRICAN STATES COULD NOT BE USED AS CHANNEL
TO DUKWU BECAUSE MESSAGES ENDED IN FRENCH HANDS AND FRENCH
INCLINED INTERVÊNE STIFFEN OJÜKWU RESISTANCE.

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Authority (VV)) (5)
By MMARA Date (V)



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## Department of State TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE Ø2 STATE ØØØ956

2. AS RESULT THIS DISCUSSION WE AGREED TRY PROCEDURE: HANDLING MESSAGES THROUGH ICRC. I HOPE STRENGTHENING OUR REPRESENTATION FERNANDO PO WILL FACILITATE USE THIS ROUTE. HALL UNQUOTE RUSK

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> Authority VN 959 By MINARA Date 10

Department of State TELEGRAN

CONFICENTIAL 200

PAGE: 01 AODIS 00039 032241Z

92 ACTION: SS: 30

INFO: CCO 00,550: 00,NSCE: 00,/030 W

O 031545Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY AOOIS ABABA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8036

CIONIFIOENITIA LIADDIS ABABA 39

EIX OI I S

C. O. R. R. E. C. T. E. O. C. O. P. Y. (TEXT)

REFR ADDIS: 38

1. MIN FONAFF REQUESTS: MESSAGE BELOW BE: DELIVERED BY USS MANDS: TO APPROPRIATE OFFICER INTERNATIONAL; COMISSION RED CROSS FOR HAND: DELIVERY COLL OUNKHU. LINGT PREFERRED AS CHANNEL BUT THIS LEFT OUR DISCRETION. IEG ASKED NO! OTHER GOVERNMENT BE USED TO GET MESSAGE TO: OUNKWU.

23 IF: NO. CRYPTO: FACILITIES: AVAILABLE PERHAPS ATTACHE: PLANE COULD! BE! USEO: OELIVER MESSAGE: SANTA, ISABEL! FOR LINDT.

3. MESSAGE FOLLOWS: OTELMOST URGENT HICHLY CONFIGENTIAL! ... H.E. L.T. COLONELLOJUKWU.

UMUAHIA

I BELIEVE THAT YOUR EXCELLENCY IS WELL AWARE MY CONCERN ABOUT DELIVERING ENOUGH RELIEF SUPPLIES TO THE CHILOREN COMMA WOMEN AND THE AGEO VICTIMS OF THE NIGBBIAN CONFLICT AS WELL AS THE PROGRESS MA

PROGRESS MA

WHEN BOTH SIDES MET IN ADOIS ABABA LAST AUGUST STOP.

ONE, PROMPTEO BY THIS SITUATION COMMA I MOULD LIKE TO APPEAL TO
YOUR EXCELLENCY TO ALLOW MASSIVE AIRLIFT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES FROM
WHEREVER IT MAY BE ACCUMULATED TO OBLIGAGO AIRFIELD AND THENCE BY
ROAD TO THE OTHER SIDELAND FOR THIS PURPOSE TO ACCEPT A TEN MILE.

CORRIDOR COMMA FIVE MILES: FROM OBLIGAGO AIRFIELD TO THE FRONT LINE
AND ANOTHER FIVE MILES: FROM THE FRONT LINE

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DV MV ARA Date 0 5 50

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 00039 032241Z

ACTION: SS: 30-

INFO CCO 00,550 00,NSCE 00,/030 W

O 091545Z JAN 69' FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS: ABABA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE: 8036.

CIO NIF I DE NIT I A LI ADDIS ABABA 39

E X D I S

CLO RIR ELCIT ELDICIO PIY (TEXT).

REFS ADDIS: 38

1. MIN FONAFF REQUESTS MESSAGE BELOW BE DELIVERED BY U.S. HANDS. TO APPROPRIATE OFFICER INTERNATIONAL COMISSION RED CROSS FOR HAND DELIVERY COLL OUUKWU. LINDT PREFERRED AS CHANNEL BUT THIS LEFT OUR DISCRETION. IEG ASKED NO OTHER GOVERNMENT BE USED TO GET MESSAGE TO OUUKWU.

2º IF: NO: CRYPTO: FACILITIES: AVAILABLE PERHAPS ATTACHE: PLANE COULD! BE: USED: DELIVER MESSAGE: SANTA, ISABEL! FOR LINDT.

3. MESSAGE FOLLOWS: QTELMOST URGENT HICHLY CONFIDENTIAL! H.E. LT. COLONELLOUUKWU

ATHAUMU

I BELIEVE THAT YOUR EXCELLENCY IS WELL AWARE MY CONCERN ABOUT DELIVERING ENOUGH RELIEF SUPPLIES TO THE CHILDREN COMMA WOMEN AND THE AGED VICTIMS OF THE NIGBBIAN CONFLICT AS WELL AS THE PROGRESS MA

WHEN BOTH SIDES MET IN ADDIS ABABA LAST AUGUST STOP. WHEN BUTH SIDES MET IN ADDIS ABABA LAST ADGUST STOPS

ONE PROMPTED BY THIS SITUATION COMMA I WOULD LIKE TO APPEAL TO:
YOUR EXCELLENCY TO ALLOW MASSIVE AIRLIFT OF RELIEF: SUPPLIES: FROM
WHEREVER IT MAY BE ACCUMULATED TO OBLIGAGO AIRFIELD AND THENCE BY
ROAD TO THE OTHER SIDE AND FOR THIS PURPOSE TO ACCEPT A TEN MILE
CORRIDOR COMMA FIVE MILES FROM OBLIGAGO AIRFIELD TO THE FRONT LINE
AND ANOTHER FIVE MILES FROM THE FRONT LINE

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Pal 21 Biafria - Megeria

## Department of State

SECRET

PAGE 01 ADDIS 00040 031632Z

768 A TON DOP

ACTION SS 30

INFO SSO 00,/030 W

024091

0 Ø31545Z JAN 68 FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8037

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 40

EXDIS / NOF ORN

REF: ADDIS 38

IN CONVERSATION WITH TESTAYED I MENTIONED ACTIVE FRENCH INTEREST THROUGH AFPLAND SINCE THEN THROUGH FRENCH EMBASSY ADDIS IN LOWENSTEIN CONVERSATION AND ALSO DEPT'S CONCERN ABOUT ABIDUAN NAIMEY AS MEETING PLACES. TESFAYELAGREED FRENCH IN SPOILER ROLE CITING EARLIER EXPERIENCE WHEN DE GAULLE STATEMENT TORPEDOED ADDIS

IN EARLY STAGE. HE SAID HE HAD CONCLUDED FRENCH AFRICAN STATES COULD NOT BE USED AS CHANNEL TO QUUKWU BECAUSE MESSAGES ENDED IN FRENCH HANDS AND FRENCH INCLINED INTERVENE STIFFEN OULKWU RESISTANCE.

AS RESULT THIS DISCUSSION WE AGREED TRY PROCEDURE HANDLING MESSAGES THROUGH ICRC. I HOPE STRENGTHENING OUR REPRESENTATION FERNANDO PO WILL FACILITATE USE THIS ROUTE. HALL

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT Classification 01 09z2 3 JAH 69 ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE THERETE PRIORITY INFO: Amembassy LAGOS LONDON OTTAWA STATE EXDIS DELIVER FRIDAY A.M. REF: Addis 0014 1. Palmer and Deptoffs debriefed Congressman-elect Lowenstein in off-the-record session January 2. Lowenstein's recapitulation of his trip added little of substance to earlier reports from addressees. He convinced that Obilago idea has definite promise as additional channel of relief, and perhaps as mechanism advancing prospect of bringing two sides closer to political negotiations. He feels strongly that HIM should pursue it promptly before its apparent advantages to both sides have been overtaken by events -- especially change in military situation. Palmer and Deptoffs impressed by Lowenstein's grasp of complex situation. We agree speed is essential. 2. After consulting UK and Canadian colleagues, you should again see Ketema and attempt discreetly filter through to FonMin following suggestions re IEG emissary to two sides on relief question: (a) USG feels strongly that emissary most effective means of tackling relief d<u>emar</u>che to both parties. Tel. Ext AF/W:RPSmith:WHITE HOUSE:RMorris:emb 6402 classification approved by: Robert P. Smith Nigeria Task Force AF - Amb. Moore (draft) AF - Mr. Palmer (draft) S/S - Mr avis AF/NE - Mr. Looram (draft) SECRET Classification FORM DS-322

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Authority VND 95 1503

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'Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

### SECRET Classification

- (b) Re identity, and subject your own views, we believe Ketema himself meets requirements -- intelligence, grasp of background and sensitivities each side, stature, and dynamism. Problem after all will be (1) to sell FMG on importance to its international position of its being responsive to relief proposal which it may suspect originated with Biafrans and which comes at moment it apparently undertaking new military offensive; and (2) deal with Biafrans without aggravating their sensitivities re IEG muting and OAU political support of FMG, which will require careful/marking in Umuahia.
- (c) Re emissary scenario, we think most advisable there be only one emissary who would go first to Lagos then Umuahia. Problem here again is FMG sensitivity to possible Biafran genesis of proposal. Pattern previous HIM diplomacy and pro-FMG stand of OAU make only natural first stop in Lagos and would make highly suspicious to FMG first stop in Umuahia. We believe this scenario acceptable to Biafrans but reverse likely to be unmanageable in Lagos unless cleared with FMG in advance.
- (d) Although we would hope emissary would be able bring about agreement on relief corridor through separate talks with parties, possibility direct negotiations cannot be excluded. In such a contingency, we concerned French presence might prejudice Niamey, yet more concerned at cost of prolonged bickering over location. Would Accra or Monrovia be workable alternative?
- 3. Assuming IEG moves in some vein, you should ask Ketema specifically what role IEG envisages for USG. We of course prepared stand by quietly for time being and believe this preferable until we get a signal from him. At that time, we prepared public and/or private support as HIM desires.

FORM DS-322A 8-63 CONTINUATION SHEET secret

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Page 3 of telegram to Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

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4. You should reiterate to Ketema our conviction that time is of the essence in any approach at this point on relief efforts; otherwise increase in pace of hostilities may destroy any such possibility.

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			FROM : Amembassy DAKAR DATE: 3 January 1969
INT	LAB	TAR	SUBJECT: Senghor Discusses Biafra
TR	ХМВ	AIR	REF :
ARMY	20		The
OSD	USI A	NSA	There are enclosed, for the information of the Department and addressee
<u> 34</u>	· ,	3	posts, ten copies of an exchange of correspondence between the German writer, Gunter CRASS, and President SENGHOR on the subject
<u>l'as</u>			of Biafra, as printed in Dakar Matin of January 2. The body of Senghor's
$\omega_{l}$	f encl	sure	letter was contained in <u>Jeune Afrique</u> of December 29, without identifying it as a response to Grass. <u>Dakar Matin</u> , in publishing
35			the full texts of the two letters, remarked upon the Jeune Afrique article:
2 3			"In order to avoid any error of interpretation, the Presidency
Ξ	-PBR		believes it necessary to publish this document Senghor's letter
N	COPYFLO-PBR		in its context. Because what is involved is the reply of the Chief of State to a letter addressed to him by Gunter Grass
	,0PY		during the President's trip to Frankfurt /In September to receive the Germans Librarians' peace prize/. In replying
JOS JAN	,		to his German colleaguethe President wished to reply, at the same time, to a score of German organizations religious,
22		-	political, labor, and cultural which had approached him in
			the same vein."
			Grass opened his letter to Senghor by observing:
			"Neither you nor I can forget during this ceremony of the award that the term 'Peace Prize' has an absurd ring to
			Enclosure: Envelope containing
			Ten Copies of Article from Dakar Matin
			FOR DEPT. USE ONLY
Draft	ed by:	•	FORM DS-323  POL: GRAndrews: ms 1/3/69  Contents and Classification Approved by:  DCM: AWLukens
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it against the background of the civil war in Nigeria which is turing into genocide."

#### He went on to say, inter alia:

"The Nigerian civil war could not have assumed this atrocious dimension without the arms aid of Great Britain and the USSR. But what is it that constrains the African states to tolerate this cynical abuse of development aid? ... If the massacre of peoples, the extermination in Biafra and the Sudan, should be the steps of the unification of the African continent, then crime would be the cement of this unity. In Biafra and southern Sudan, millions of women, children and old people are paying with their lives or their health the price of a policy which, whether it be of European or African origin, has only one objective: the acquisition of power... I appeal to the stateman and humanist that you are to condemn as genocide the bloody events in Biafra and the Sudan. I ask you to call upon the governments responsible in order that the massacre may end, and that Africa may not inherit from a history marked by Auschwitz and Treblinka."

In his reply, Senghor said that he agreed that the Nigerian civil war was "inhuman and useless," and proceeded to a lengthy defense of Senegalese policy, excerpts of which follow:

"Our policy reposes on three principles. First, all African frontiers are artificial, but one must retain the frontiers inherited from colonial regimes, as decided by the OAU. Second, in the twentieth century, a nation cannot be formed to the accompaniment of the explosions of shells and bombs, which is why we have always maintained that the military reconquest of Biafra could not by itself resolve the problem of the restoration of Nigeria as a nation. Third, Senegal has been consistently opposed to the Balkanization of Africa... It is necessary to negotiate, with no other precondition except the integrity of Nigeria, in order to lead to a rapid cease fire and peace in a reconciled Nigeria where the different peoples cooperate with each other on the basis of equality... From the beginning, we have affirmed that what divided the Federal Government and the rebel government was not worth the sacrifice of a single life, because the quarrel was over whether Nigeria should be federal or confederal... At the OAU conference in Algiers last September,

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the Senegalese Foreign Minister again put forth the case for an unconditional cease fire and immediate negotiations. We did not convince the majority of states present... At least Senegal had already responded to the appeal of the Chief of State to send, through the Senegalese Red Cross, food and medicine to the victims of the civil war. Perhaps you will ask me why we have not recognized Biafra. We have not done so on grounds both of principle and practicality. On the plane of principles, we could not prejudice the negotiations by taking sides ahead of time. As for the practical aspect, our gesture would not have been effective. We would have deprived ourselves of all influence over the Federal Government without acquiring the least influence with the European states which furnish it with arms... The civil war in Nigeria is beyond our power because it is fed by European powers, and is pursued for their profit. If the states which provide weapons to the belligerents had abstained from doing so, the two parties would have long ago found through negotiations and with the aid of the OAU solutions which would have been politically and humanly constructive."

Comment: Senghor has long been sympathetic to Biafra. His letter to Grass constitutes a well-reasoned presentation of his policy. The underlying motivations for his views were described in A-404 of September 5, 1968 ("The Shift to the Left in Senegal's Foreign Policy"). It suffices to note here that Senghor's listing of his reasons for not recognizing Biafra is incomplete, and that there are three considerations which he did not mention. The first is that it would compromise his chances to mediate the conflict; the second that it would provoke a hostile reaction from his neighbors, Mauritania and Guinea (and perhaps still Mali), with whom he is anxious to maintain good relations; and the third that it could set a dangerous precedent in terms of Senegalese interests (if, for example, the Casamance region should at some time develop separatist tendencies). The reason for publishing the full exchange of correspondence was to put the Jeune Afrique article in its proper context, and to avoid the impression that he was overly pro-Biafra.

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## A PROPOS DE LA PUBLICATION DANS "JEUNE AFRIQUE D'UN TEXTE DU PRÉSIDENT SENGHOR SUR LE NIGÉRIA

L'hebdomadaire « Jeune Afrique » a publié, sous forme d'article, un texte du Président de la République.

Pour éviter toute erreur d'incrprétation, la Présidence de la République croit devoir publier ce document dans son contexte Car il s'agit de la réponse du chef de l'Etat à une lettre que lui avait adressée à l'occasion de son voyage à Franckort, l'écrivain allemand Gunter Grass

En répondant à son Confrère

allemand, en sa qualité d'écrivain, le chef de l'Etat a voulu tépondre, en même temps, à une vingtaine d'organisations allemandes – religieuses, politiques, syndicales et culturelles – qui étaient intervenues dans le même sens, auprès de lui.

## La lettre de M. Günter GRASS

Cher Monsieur Senghor,

Veuillez me permettre de m'a-

Veuillez me permettre de m'adresser à vous sinsi puisque l'écrivain que pe suis écrit en premier lieu à l'écrivain et en second lieu seulement au Président - à l'homme d'Etat Léonold Sédar Senghor.

Aujourd'hui à Francjort le Prix de la Paix des Libraires allemands vous est décerné. Ni cous ni moi ne saurions oublier pendant cette cérémonie que le terme « Prix de la Paix » rend un son absurde sur l'arrière plan de la guerre civile au Nigériu qui se mue en génocide

de la guerre civile au Nigéria qui se mue en génocide.
L'opinion mondiale a pris connaissance des statistiques de massacre au Biafra. Il est mons connu que les noirs du Soudansont en but à une guerre d'externination dans le Sud de leur pays par l'oeuvre des troupes du Soudan.
L'Allemand que je suis a dû apprendre à ne pas user à la lègère du terme de « génocide ». L'histoire de mon peuple restera marquée par ce crime minense. Les citoyens de l'Allemange auront à subir les conimmense. Les citogens de l'Al-lemagne auront à subir les con-sequences traumatisantes de l'ex-termination des Juifs pour des générations. Même la génération l'après guerre, innocente, en sent 2 poids. Et nul n'aperçoit la

n.
La guerre civile du Nigéria
urait pu prendre cette dinsion atroce sans l'aide en
ues de la Grande-Bretagne et
l'Union Soviétique. Mais qui
e qui contraint les Etats
nins de tolérer cet abus cyle l'aide au dépelonne. de l'aide au développe-l' Quel traité de science que recommande aux gou-nents africains d'hériter

d'une politique europeenne de puissance qui est catastrophi-

gue?

Si le massacre de peuples, l'extermination, au Biafra, au Soudan devaient être les étapes dans

termination, au Biafra, au Soudan devuent être les étapes dans
l'unification du continent africain, le crime serait le ciment
de cette unité, en admettant
que la solidarité des acteurs, des
complices et des spectateurs permette une veuvre durable.
Au nom d'une souverainete
nationale mat comprise les gouvernements aussi bien de Lagos
que de Kartoum se sont crus
justifié d'opprimer et de nassacren des minorités. Au Biafra
et au Soudan du Sud des mililions de femmes, d'enfants et de
vieillards paient de leur vie ou
de leur santé le prix d'une politique qui - qu'elle soit d'origine européenne ou africaine
ne vise qu'une chose : l'accroissement du pouvoir.

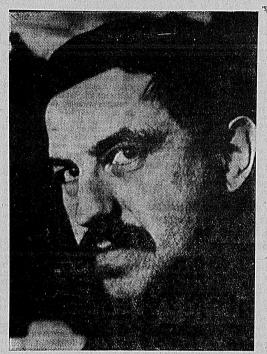
Le Ministre des Affaires etran-gères de l'République fédérule Willy Brandt- a tenu voici peu de semanes un discours à Ge-nève qui a eu beaucoup, d'échos. Veuilles considérer ma lecture comme une note au bus de ce discours, qui était un appel au renoncement à l'emploi de la force.

renoncement à l'emploi de la force.

Je supplie l'homme d'Etat, l'hu maniste que veus êtes de condamier comme génocide les evel soudant le vous prie de faire appet aux Gouvernements responsables afin que le massucre prenne fin et que l'Afrique n'hérite pas d'une histoire marquée par Auschwitz et Treblinka.

Si l'écrivain qui s'adresse à vous trouvait le compréhension de l'écrivain, j'ose espérer que le Président Senghor veuille lui aussi me comprendre.

te Président Senghor veuille lu aussi me comprendre. Je vous adresse mo



L'écrivain allemand Gunter Grass

### La réponse de M. Léopold Sédar à l'écrivain allemand SENGHOR

Mon cher Confrère,

Mon cher Contrere,

Il ne me déplait pas qu'à l'occasion de la remise du Prix de la Paix par les Libraires allemands, vous m'ayez adressé une lettre attirant mon attention sur le grave problème du « génocide » tel qu'ill se pose en Afrique, singulièrement au Nigéria. Le même jour du 22 septembre, je recevais, d'un certain nombre de personnalités, d'associations et d'organisations allemandes, une lettre sur le même porblème, dont vous trouverez la photocopie ci-jointe : Maire de Francfort, Parti social-démocrate, Union chrétienne-démocrate, Union des Travailleurs allemands, Doyen de l'Eglise catholique, Prieur de l'Eglise évangélique, Comité d'Action « Aide au Biafra », Association des Etudiants de l' « Université Wolfgang Goethe », Union des Associations pour l'Action humanitaire d' « Aide au Biafra ».

de au Biatra ».

Pour en revenir à votre lettre, je retiens que vous écrivez, d'abord, à l'écrivain, à votre confrère avant de vous adresser à l'homme d'Etat. Je retiens, également, cette idée que le « Prix de la Paix » n'aurait aucun sens, pis, serait un non sens — par quoi se définit l'absurdité — si nous oublions qu'à l'arrière plan de la cérémonie du 22 septembre, se déroulait, comme sur un écran, l'inhumaine et inutile guerre civile du Nigéria. Gar vous avez raison de poser ainsi le problè.

plus à coups de canon ni de hombe. La seule conquête qui soit efficace, ici, est celle des cœurs. Pour quoi nous définissons la nation : « une commune voionté de vie commune ». Pour quoi nous avons, toujours, soutenu que la reconquête militaire du Biafra ne pourrait, à elle seule, résoudre le problème de la restauration du Nigéria « comme nation ». Tout au contraire.

Enfin. troisième principe, le Sé-

Enfin, troisième principe, le Sénégal s'est, constamment, opposé à la « balkanisation de l'Afrique »

ge, qui peut se résumer ainsi, tous les coups d'Etat étant condamnés :
« Il faut négocier sans aucun autre préalable que l'intégrité du Nigéria pour abouir : 1) à un cessez le feu rapide; 2) à la paix dans un Nigéria réconcilié avec lui-même, c'est à dire à la coopération, sur un pied d'égalité, entre les différents peuples qui le composent ».

Mais cela mérite explication. Je partiral, pour cela, de la vision d'horreur qui a soulevé tous les cœurs par le monde, et, d'abord croyez-le-bien, en Afrique même : la vision de la faim qui ronge tout un peuple et fait des hécatombes parmi les innocents, parmi les enfants.

Autrefols, en Europe, très exactement, avant le XXe siècle, l'idée comptait plus que l'homme, la nation, et surtout l'Etat, plus que les personnes. Au nom de cette idée qui, en vérité, cachait des ambitions politiques, on pouvait massacrer des peuples, « pratiquer le génocide », comme on dirait autourd'hui varea.

Groupe d'Afrique de l'Ouest, réunie à Monrovia, en avril 1968, qu'à notre demande, s'est tenue une séan ce à huis clos, où a été décidée la réactivation de la Commission consultative.

Ce n'est pas non plus un secret qu'à la Conférence des chefs d'Etat qui s'est réunie, en septembre dernier, à Alger, Monsieur Gaye, Ministre des Affaires étrangères du Sénégal, a défendu, une fois de plus, la thèse du cessez-le-feu inconditionnel et des négociations immédiates. C'est un fait que nous n'avons pas persuadé la majorité des Etats. Là est, j'en conviens, notre faiblesse. faiblesse.

Du moins, le Sénégal avait-il au-paravant, dans un domaine qui ne dépendait que de lui, répondu à l'appel du chef de l'Etat pour envoyer, par sa Croix-Rouge, des vivres et des médicaments aux vic-times de la guerre civile du Ni-géria.

Peut-être, pas tout à fait convain-

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idée que le « Prix de la Paix »
n'aurait aucun sens, pis, serait un
non sens — par quoi se définit l'absurdité — si nous oubliions qu'à non sens — par quoi se della sudité — si nous oublions qu'à l'arrière plan de la cérémonie du 22 septembre, se déroulait, comme sur un écran, l'inhumaine et inutile guerre civile du Nigéria. Car vous avez raison de poser ainsi le problème.

Si jc me sens, en effet, des de-voirs dans la guerre civile du Ni-géria — et aussi du Soudan puis-que vous en parlez —, comme dans toutes les guerres d'indépendance nationale qui se poursuivent en Afrique, c'est, bien sur et d'abord, en ma qualité de négro-africain.

C'est aussi, et peur-être plus ton-damentalement, en mu qualité d'écri-vain : non plus au sens de la chaîr et du cœur, mais de l'esprit. Car si l'engagement de l'écrivain a, au-jourd'hui, un sens, ce ne peut être si l'engagement de l'ecrivain à, au-jourd'hui, un sens, ce ne peut être envers un parti quel qu'il soit, mais seulement envers le parti de l'Homme, par-delà toutes les fron-tières de race, de nation, de reli-

Il reste que je suis chef d'Etat et, de surcroît, africain. C'est l'é-vidence que cette trolsième qualite ne retranche rien à mes devoirs. Elle y ajoute.

#### La paix se réalise

Cela dit en manière d'introduction, je voudrais vous rassurer. Je n'ai pas conscience d'avoir tellement mérité le Prix de la Paix. La Paix véritable, elle ne se proclame pas, elle ne se veut même pas : elle se réalise. Je l'ai écrit. Et je l'ai dit, d'abord, à Monsieur Dodeshoner. Mis il 2'était déract pour me face par l'ai écrit d'aixed pour me l'aixed par l'aixe d'abord, à Monsieur Dodeshoner. Mais il s'était dérangé pour me ren-contrer à Parls... Et, j'al pensé que le choix des Libraires allemands si-gnifiait moin. un couronnement qu'une incitation, pour le Peuple qu'une incitation, pour le Peuple et le gouvernement sénégalais, à poursuivre leurs efforts de paix et d'unité africaines, dans la voie de ce dialogue dont ils ont fait leur méthode politique,

méthode politique,

J'irai plus loin, que nous soyons chefs d'État, chefs religieux, écrivains, intellectuels, syndicalistes, nous sommes tous, africains, à des degrés divers, responsables de ce qui se passe en Afrique, et, partant, des crimes qui s'y commettent Je partie d'une responsabilité objective. De ce point de vue, il est manifeste que celle des intellectuels et des chefs d'Etat est écrasante.

Mon intention, en vous répon-

Mon intention, en vous répondant, n'est donc pas de me retrancher derrière l'argument de la non ingérence dans les affaires intérieures d'un autre Etat, encore que celui-ci figure dans la Chart. de l'Organisation de l'Unite Africaine. Il n'est pas de m'en laver les mains, comme Ponce-Pilate. Il est de vous exposer, pas trop longuement, les efforts que le gouvernement et le Peuple sénégalals ont déployés pour alder à la solution du problème. Sans doute trouverons-nous dans le dialogue engagé avec vous et les Allemands, de nouveaux arguments; en tout cas, un nouvel Mon intention, en vous réponguments; en tout cas, un nouvel encouragement à poursulvre notre

mais cet effort — très exactement, notre politique au sens étymologique du mot — repose sur des principes, qu'en l'occurrence, on peut ramener à trois.

Le premier vest autre.

on peut ramener à trois.

Le premier est qu'en Afrique, toutes les frontières étant artificielles, parce que divisant la même ethnie — c'est cliq fols le cas du Sénégal avec ses volsins —, il faut s'en tenir aux frontières héritées du régime colonlal, comme l'O. U.A. l'a décidé.

Le deuxième principe est qu'au

. 12 decide.

deuxième principe est qu'au
siècle, une nation ne se france

mune ». Pour quoi nous avons, toujours, soutenu que la reconquête militaire du Biafra ne pourrait, à elle seule, résoudre le problème de la restauration du Nigéria « comme nation ». Tout au contraire.

nation ». Tout au contraire.

Enfin, troisième principe, le Sénégal s'est, constamment, opposé à la « balkanisation de L'Afrique ».

— l'expression est de nous —, à la création de mini-nations. A la conférence constitutive de l'OUA, en 1963, j'ai personnellement, souenu, au nom de mon pays, la thèse selon laquelle l'unité afticaine devait être une action positive qu'elle devait se fonder moins sur la « lutte contre l'impérialisme, le colonialisme et le néo-colonialisme » qui était, au demeurant, commune à tout le Tiers-Monde, que sur l'existence de valeurs culturelles communes et, concrètement, sur les groupes. tout le Tiers-Monde, que sur l'existence de valeurs culturelles communes et, concrètement, sur les groupements régionaux. C'est pour réaliser ce dernler principe que le Sénégal, depuis cette date, a entrepris de susciter la création, en Afrique de l'Ouest, de cercles concentriques de solidarité, où il entrerait
comme Etat-membre. C'est, en allant du plus petit au plus grand:

1) l' « Assoclation sénégambienne »
entre le Sénégal et la Gamble; 2)
l' « Organisation des Etats riverains
du Sénéga », sous-groupe qui réunit la Guinée, le Mali, la Mauritanie et le Sénégal; 3) « le Groupe de l'Afrique de l'Ouest », dont
le projet a comme rapporteurs le
Libéria et le Sénégal et qui a vocation à réunir tous les Etats de
ll'Afrique occidentale, depuis, la
Mauriranle jusqu'à la République
démocratique du Congo.

#### Dans le sens de l'Unité Africaine

C'est donc sur ces principes que s'est fondée, de notre côté, la coopé-ration sénégalo-nigériane. Car, parmi les Etats anglophones d'Afrique, la les Etats angiopiones d'Arique, la Gamble exceptée, c'est avec le Ni-géria que nos relations étaient les plus étroltes.. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa et Namdi Azikiwé étaient des amis personnels. Et celui-ci l'est resté.

C'est dans se contexte que s'est C'est dans se contexte que s'est cans se contexte que s'est cerefe notre action avant le coup d'Etat du 15 janvier 1966. Le problème, en effet, était pour les deux hommes, de maintenir la Fédération du Nigéria et de la défendre tion du Nigéria et de la défendre contre les courants centrifuges, C'est alnsi que mon dernier voyage officiel au Nigéria, en Avril 1964, se transforma, de ma part, en tour-née de propagande en faveur de la Fédération. Discrètement au de-meurant, mais avec conviction puis-que cela allait dans le sens de l'uni-té africaire. africaine.

té africaine.

Sur les coups d'Etat qui se succédés au Nigéria, je commencerai par faire deux remarques. La première est que, de l'un et de l'autre, les raisons sont complexes parce que multiples sinon contradictoires. Elles sont, en même temps, politiques, tribales et personnelles. Ma seconde remarque est que nous avons, officiellement, condamné les deux coups d'Etat au nom du principe de la non violence — ou du dialogue.

Frant donné l'étroitesse de la con-

Etant donné l'étroitesse de la co-Etant donné l'étroitesse de la coopération sénégalo-nigériane et l'amitié personnelle qui me liait à Mes
sieurs Azikiwé et Tafawa Balewa,
je ne pouvais, nous ne pouvions,
rester indifférents à la guerre civile
qui s'est déclenchée en juillet 1967
Au surplus, les deux camps allaient
de toute façon, en nous « informant », nous obliger à agir. Car,
depuis cette date, j'ai reçu plus
d'une délégation de chaque camp.
Aux uns et aux autres, j'ai toujours,
au nom du gouvernement et du peu-

Autrefols, en Europe, très exacte-ent, avant le XXe siècle, l'idée Autretois, en Europe, res exacte-ment, avant le XXe siècle, l'idée comptait plus que l'homme, la la-tion, et surtout l'Etat, plus que les personnes. Au nom de cette idée qui, en vérité, eachait des ambitions personnes. Au nom de concursion qui, en vérité, cachait des ambitions politiques, on pouvair massacrer de peuples, « pratiquer le génocide comme on dirait aujourd'hul, avec la bénédiction des églisés. Nous aurons pu invoquer l'exemple européen. Nous ne l'avons pas fait.

#### Un Nigéria fédéral ou confédéral

Dès l'abord, nous l'avons affirmé, ce qui divisait le Gouvernement fédéral et le gouvernement rebelle ne valait pas qu'on lui sacrifiât une scule personne. Car la querelle était de savoir si le futur Nigéria scrait fédéral ou confédéral. Comme si la Suisse et le Canada n'étaient pas, en principe, des confédérations, qui se gouvernent, en fait, comme des fédérations. Comme si, entre une confédération classique et une fédération tout aussi classique, il n'y avait pas toute une gamme de solutions constructives pourvu seulement qu'on voulît donner primuté et, partant, en l'occurrence, priorité à l'homme. Je parle de l'homme sans majuscule — à sauver concrètement, immédiatement.

C'est ce souci de l'homme con-

C'est ce souci de l'homme con cret, condition sine qua non de tou-te culture, de toute civilisation, qui nous a toujours fait paraître inuti-les les interminables discussions sur nous a toujours falt paraître inutiles les interminables discussions sur la « nation », le « peuple » et la « tribu »; sur le « génocide » et la guerre « propre ». Au temps de ma jeunesse, on appelait « nations » les peuples blancs, et « tribus » les peuples noirs ou rouges. « Génocide », le massacre de peuples européens; et « pacification » le massacre, de autres. J'en conviens avec vous, en ce temps de totalisation de la planète Terre — en attendant sa socialisation —, la Nation se définit, maintenant, sur tous les continents, par la conscience de l'identité culturelle d'un peuple donné. Et le génocide, objectivement, comme le massacre dans les faits, d'un peuple conscient de luimême, encore que le dictionnaire « Robert », qui date le mot de 1946 seulement, le définisse, subjectivement, comme une « destruction methodique d'un groupe ethnique ». C'est moi qui souligne. Mals, à l'évidence, tout cela ne résout pas le problème, qui est, par-delà les disputes juridiques et grammaticales, celui de sauver les vies humaines en arrêtant la guerre civile. Et je conviens, également, que vous avez le droit de me demander : « Deen arreiant ia guerre d'oric. Et le conviens, également, que vous avez le droit de me demander : « Devant ce problème, qu'avez-vous fair concrètement, vous chef d'Etat atricain, vous, hommes et femmes du Sénégal? ».

Je crois que nous avons contribué — parmi d'autres, naturellement — à diminuer les préalables aux négociations en les réduisant à celui de l'intégrité du Nigéria. Je dis « intégrité », non « unité, ce qui laisse ouverte la question : « Fédération ou Confédération ? » Question qui doit faire, a fait l'objet des négociations.

#### Des raisons de principe

C'est, précisément, à notre initiative que la Commission consultative des Chefs d'Etat, désignée par la Conférence de Kinshasa en septembre 1967, a repris ses activités pout siéger à Niamey, où elle a préparé les négociations d'Addis-Abéba entre le gouvernement fédéral et celui le gouvernement fédéral et celui Biafra. En effet, c'est au cours

paravant, dans un domaine qui ne dépendait que de lui, répondu à l'appel du chef de l'Etat pour envoyer, par sa Croix-Rouge, des vivres et des médicaments aux vic-times de la guerre civile du Ni-

Peut-être, pas tout à fait convaincon-eue, pas tout a tait convain-en me demanderezveus : « Pour-quoi n'avez-vous pas reconnu le Bla fra? » Nous ne l'avons pas fait pour des raisons de principe et aussi d'efficacité.

Gerricacite.

Sur le plan des principes, nous ne pouvions préconiser la négociation en commençant par prendre parti. Nous serions alors sortis de notre rôle de paix pour entre, moralement, dans la guerre. Nous aurions, par la même, renié le principe du dialogue, qui est la pierre angulaire de la politique sénégalaise.

Dans la pratique, notre geste n'est pas été efficace. Nous nous scrions privés de toute influence sur le gouvernement fédéral sans, pour autant, en acquérir la moindre sur les Etats européens qui lui fournissent des armes.

Là est le nœud du problème. En-Là est le nœud du problème. Encore une fois, il ne s'agit pàs, pour nous, Sénégalais, de faire du ponce-pliatisme : de nous en laver les mains, comme si cette guerre ne nous concernait pas d'abord, de nier nos terribles responsabilités. d'autant plus terribles que nous dénions aux autres — à l'ONU, par exemple — le drolt de s'en mêler dans le même temps que nous démontrons notre incapacité à lui trouve run solution.

#### Une guerre qui nous dépasse

Mais, vous le savez, la guerrecivile du Nigéria nous dépasse parce qu'elle est alimentée par des puissances européennes et qu'elle se
poursuit à leur profit. Si les Etats
qui fournissent véhicules, avions et
armes aux belligérants s'en étalent
abstenus, il y a longtemps que
ceux-ci auraient trouvé autour de
la table de négociation et avec l'aide l'OUA, des solutions politiquement et humainement constructives.

vcs.

Je ne dis pas que l'action menée jusqu'ici par vous et les personna-lités que voilà, par les organisations et associations ailemandes précitées soit vaine. Tout au contraire, parce que votre conscience historique vous rendait, plus que d'autres, sensibles à la tragédie du Nigéria, un vaste mouvement de protestation et de solidarité s'est développé en Allemagne fédérale. Au-delà des vivres et des médicaments envoyés aux victimes de la guerre, votre voix, mêlée fraternellement à d'autres voix par le monde, aura contribué, j'en suis convaincu, à préparer, en définitive, un dénouement plus hudéfinitive, un dénouement plus hu-main de la tragédie.

main de la tragédie.

Il reste que votre intervention auprès des Africains ne suffit pas Si l'opinion publique allemande agis sait, en même temps, auprès des grandes puissances — et des autres naturellement — qui fournissent des armes aux bellgérants, ce serait, pour le moins, tout aussi efficace. Il est de la guerre clvile au Nlgéria comme du sous-développement. L'effort africain, l'effort du Tiers-Monde ne peut porter ses fruits que s'il n'est pas systématiquement con trecarré par la domination économique des Grands, Car il s'agit, ici, du marché nigérian. Et aussi du pétrole.

Dans l'attente des suggestions que vous pourtiez me faire et dont je ne manquerais pas de tirer profit, je vous prie de croire, mon cher Confrère, à l'assurance de mes sen-

Authority WND BVMNARA Date 10

## LE MESSAGE A LA NATION DU CHEFI DE L'ETAT M. LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR

Et, cependant, je ne desespère pas de cette « année terrible », nous n'avons pas, nous, Sénéga-lais, le droit de désespèrer. Parlais, le droit de désespérer. Par-ce qu'une vision prospective de l'Histoire nous le dit, il n'a pas de progrès sans conflits ni dé-chirements. Au sens africain du mot, il n'y a pas de paix sans tension. Car la paix consiste dans l'harmonie des éléments dif-fèrents contradictoires, antagodans l'harmonie des éléments dif-fèrents, contradictoires, antago-nistes, voire contraires. Or, mal-gré les tensions, malgré les dif-férends, malgré les guerres, le dialogue est en train de s'amor-cer un peu partout, l'accord con-ciliant. la Paix, du moins la co-existence pacifique, de se réta-blir.

#### "L'avenir du Sénégal est entre les mains de tous les Sénégalais"

Et, d'abord, chez nous, dans notre pays. Oh! je ne me fals pas d'illusions. Les choses étant ce qu'elles sont, et les hommes, je veux dire les Sénégalais, ce n'est pas demain, qu'il n'y-aura plus de clans à l'U.P.S. — ni ailleurs, au demeurant. Ce n'est pas leurs, au demeurant. Ce n'est pas demain qu'il· n'y aura plus de « révolutionnaires téléguidés », qui demanderont, au gouvernement d'un pays sous-développé, les avantages que leur « patrie idéa le » n'accorde pas à ses citoyens. Mais voici le fait — et l'accueil de Seite l'un le les services de les services de la contra de l'accueil de se set l'active l'es montrés qu'il wais voici le fait — et l'accueil de Saint-Louis l'a montré — qu'il y a, dans ce pays, une immense majorité de citoyens qui ont compris que l'avenir du Sénégal, et son succès, était dans les mains de chaque Sénégalais et de tous les Sénégalais ensemble de tous les Sénégalais ensemble, unis, dans la participation et le dialogue, pour un même effort de méthode et d'organisation, de production et de culture : de ci-villsation.

rillisation.

Cependant, le dialogue viet-namien, interrompu, est en passe de reprendre à Paris si ce n'est encore à Saïgon. Nous sentons tous, nous savons qu'il y a, la. une direction, un mouvement irréversible. Et que l'opinion mondiale condamnerait. sans appel, le belligérant qui prendrait la responsabilité d'étouffer cette paix si longtemps attendue, car devuis 28 ans l...

L'espoir luit, également, au Moyen-Orient, comme une étoile dans la nuit hivernale. Car voici que les Super-Grands, et les Grands, comprennent, enfin, leur devoir, et qu'il est non de se défier en Méditerranée, mais d'aider à faire, de cette mer, véritablement, la mer du milieu : de la paix entre peuples, malgré tout, frères. Cependant, le dialogue vlet-na-

Il luit encore, l'espoir, plus près de nous, en Négritude, au Nigé-ria, où les deux chefs de guerre antagonistes ont décrété une

de 1 pour 100 de son produit national brut aux prix du marché », elle mettait très peu de zèle à résoudre efficacement le proble me fondamental de la détériora-tion. Je ne nie pas non plus que cette dernière recommandation est restée lettre morte. Et cependant, notre espoir se réveille parce qu'ici, également, dans ce domaine, comme dans celui de domaine, comme dans celui de la paix, des hommes de bonne volonte, qui sont, en meme temps, des hommes de science, se lèvent pour dire une nouvelle éco-nomie et une nouvelle morale, confondues dans la même vision prospective de l'Homme.

C'est M. Robert Mac Namara, président de la Banque mondiale, de la Société financière interna-tionale et de l'Association intertionale et de l'Association inter-nationale de Développement, qui, dans un discours révolutionnaire et parlant de l'aide aux pays sous-développés, affirmait : « Mais je me suis rendu comp-te, et j'ai à peine besoin de vous le dire, de ce que, tandis que la nécessité de l'assistance n'a ja-mais été plus grande, la volonté

la nécessité de l'assistance n'a ja-mais été plus grande, la volonté de la dispenser n'a jamais été plus faible dans beaucoup des pays qui fournissent l'essentiel de l'aide, sinon dans la totalité

de l'aide, sinon dans la totalité d'entre eux. ».

M. Mac Namara, en homme d'action, ne se contente pas de critiquer : Il propose « un plan de développement » pour chaque pays en voie de développement ». Mieux, il agit.

« J'estime, poursuit-il, que, globalement, le Groupe de la Banque devrait, pendant les cinq prochaînes années, prêter deux fois plus qu'il ne l'a fait au cours

des cinq années précédentes. Cela signifie que, d'ici à 1973, le Groupe de la Banque devrait prêter, au total, autant qu'il l'a fait depuis le début de ses opérations, il y a 22 ans.

« Mais, conclut-il, c'est en Africa

que... que devrait se produiro l'extension la plus considérable des activités de la Banque. »

#### Le renouvellement la Convention de Yaoundé

Il n'y a pas, heureusement, que les organisations financières monles organisations financières mon-diales à faire leur révolution hu-maniste. Il y en a d'autres de moindre dimension, mais impor-tantes, comme la Communauté économique europeénne. Vous le savez, celle-ci a commencé, en ce mois de décembre, à négocier, avec les Dix-Huit Etats africains.

ce mois de decembre, à négocier, avec les Dix-Huit Etats africains. le renouvellement de la Conyention de Yaoundé.

C'est un fait que l'association eurafricaine, des Six et des Dix-Huit « demeure, aujourd'hui. l'exemple le plus ingénieux de programme d'aide au développement », ainsi que l'écrivent les « Marchés Tropicaux ». Car il vise, à la fois, à augmenter l'assistance financière des pays développés et, ce qui est plus révolutionnaire, à résoudre, avec l'accroissement des échanges commerciaux eurafricains, le problème de la détérioration des termes de l'échange.

C'est à ce dernier problème, en d'autres termes, à la régularisation des cours des matières premières, que sont consacrées des fundes de plus en plus documents.

mières, que sont consacrées des études de plus en plus documen-

tees par les experts les plus com-pétents. Documentées, mais aussi constructives, dans un nouvel es-prit d'humanisme, qui, encore une fois, considère le développe-ment du Tiers-Monde comme le devoir fondamental du XX siè-cle et comme sou encomplisse. et-comme son accomplissement.

ment.

Je n'en veux pour preuve que la Commission d'Etudes créée par M. Robert Mac Namara, présidée par M. Lester Pearson, ancien Premier Ministre du Canada, et qui a pour tâche « de faire la synthèse de l'effort passé d'assistance », ma's surtout « d'en tirer des leçor pour l'avenir ». Que les remarquables études de l'O.C.D.E., que dirige, avec tant de compétence — et de lucide générosité — le professeur André Philip. Que le Colloque organisé le mois dernier par le très britannique Overseas Development Institute, qui réunissait une pléiade d'experts internationaux de toutes idéologies et nations.

#### "Il reste que je suis optimisme à long terme"

Oui — et c'est par là que je vais terminer — si je suis pessimiste pour le proche avenir, pour les quatre années à venir, qui exigeront, des Super-Grands, beaucoup de sang-froid et de générosité, qui exigeront, par dessus tout, des Sénégalais, un effort intense d'organisation, de discipline et de travail, il reste que le suis optimiste à long terque je suis optimiste à long ter-me. Parce qu'encore une fois, de par la planète, les esprits les plus

intelligents, parce que les plus prospectivement visionnaires, ont compris, avec la Pape Paul VI, que « le Développement, c'est la Paix ». Cette Paix, qui est la condition sine qua non de notre survie comme civilisation, et qu'il nous convie à célébrer le 1er janvier.

C'est dans cet esprit de paix. et en rendant au mot dyaama toute sa profondeur négro-afri-caine, que je vous présente mes vœux de Bonne et Heurènse An-

Bonne année, à vous toutes. Sénégalaises. Et à vous tous, Sénégalais

Que cette Année 1969 vous con-serve — ou vous apporte — la

négalais.

Que cette Année 1969 vous conserve — ou vous apporte — la santé et le bonheur.

Qu'elle apporte l'entente dans chacun de vôs foyers, de vos villages, départements et régions.

Qu'elle apporte, à notre Nation réconciliée dans la participation et le dialogue, le succès d'un de veloppement harmonieux.

Bonne Année, à vous, Hôtes amis, qui vivez parmi nous : jc vous souhaite une année heureuse parce que de succès. Succès dans vos entreprises, dans vos études au Sénégal, que vous se Assistants techniques, Chefs d'reprise, Travailleurs du sect privé ou Etudiants.

Succès pour vos patries ioin

Succès pour vos patries ioin nes, qu'elles soient développe ou en développement, dans tous leurs desseins et actions.

Puisse 1969 être, pour les Homries rassemblés sur la planète Terre, une année de progrès par-ce que de dialogue et d'accord conciliant.

## Je me félicite que mon gouvernement ait pu à tout moment faciliter la tâche du vôtre" a souligné l'Ambassadeur de FRANCE s'adressant au Chef de l'Etat lors de la présentation des vœux de Nouvel An

Le Doyen du Corps Dipiomatique, à l'occasion de la présentation

L'habitude n'émoussant ni l'hon-L'habitude n'émoussant ni l'hon-neur ni l'agrément, j'apprécie tou-jours aussi vivement le privilège qui m'échoit d'être appelé par mes fonctions de Doyen à vous présenter pour la cinquième fois les voeux du Corps Diplomatique accredité au Sénégal.

Ces voeux qui viennent du fond du coeur s'adressent à la person-ne de Votre Excellence, à la gra-cieuse Mme Senghor et à votre

dans les termes qui convenaient à la région et au public. Aussi bien, le moment venu et dans des blen, le moment venu et dans des elections libres, le peuple sénéga-lais vous a-t-il renouvelé massive-ment sa confiance pour réaliser un socialisme démocratique, à la fois réaliste et généreux, pour lutter contre cette détérioration des termes de l'échange que vous dénoncez si vivoureusement et dénoncez si vigoureusement et pour que se produise le « dé-collage » du Sénégal

versité de Dakar et en mettant a versité de Dakar et en mettant a votre disposition les professeurs français que vous souhaitiez. Il li n'est pas douteux que l'amitié qui vous lie au Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires étrangères, M. Yvon Bourges — et dont la visite officielle au Sénégal en avril dernier a été un témoignage de plus — ait grandement contribué à ces heureuses solutions.

Ces préoccupations ne vous fai saient cependant pas oublier les impératifs économiques et ce dé-veloppement du Sénégal qui vous tant a \_coeur.

"Heinrich Lubke. Ce fut l'occasion pour vous, dans u. discours que vous vous êtes défendu d'avoir

Authority VND95 MNARA Date U dans la nuit hivernale. Car voici que les Super-Grands, et les Grands, comprennent, enfin, leur devoir, et qu'il est non de se défier en Méditerranée, mais d'ai-der à faire, de cette mer, vérita-blement, la mer du millieu : de la paix entre peuples, malgré tout, frères.

frères.

Il luit encore, l'espoir, plus près de nous, en Négritude, au Nigéria, où les deux chefs de guerre antagonistes ont décrété une trêve de Noël. Ici comme là, on se réjouit de constater que les Grands et Super-Grands, rendus à la conscience de leurs devoirs et de leurs vrais intérêts, veulent la paix — plus activement.

la paix — plus activement.

Jusqu'aux colonies portugaises,
à la Rhodésie et à l'Afrique du
Sud. où tout espoir n'est pas
Berdu. Qui l'eût espéré, l'année
dernière, que le règne de Salazar prendrait fin, que Ian Smith
reviendrait à la négociation, que
des groupes d'étudiants blancs,
en Afrique du Sud, contesteraient
l'apartheid?

#### "Nous n'avons jamais perdu configuce en Phomme'

Là non plus, nous n'avons ja

Là non plus, nous n'avons jamais perdu confiance en l'Homme, qu'il fût portugais, blanc rhodésien, ou afrikander. Car nous savons que, sur tous les continents, du sein de toutes les races, nations et confessions, des hommes de bonne, volonté se lèvent chaque année plus nombreux, pour affirmer l'éminente dignité de l'Homme — et la vivre en actes de lucidité, de générosité, de courage.

Et c'est pourquoi, même de voir résoudre les problèmes de la détérioration des termes de l'échange, nous ne désespérons pas. Je ne nierai pas la profonde déception que nous a causée la deuxième Conférence et Nations Unies pour le Commerce et le Développement, qui s'est tenue, au début de cette année, à New-Delhi. Car, tandis que la Conférence recommandait, aux pays économiquement avancés, « d'assurer, annuellement, aux pays en voie de développement, un transfert de ressources financières d'un montant net minimal cières d'un montant net minimal

L'habitude n'emoussant ni l'hon-neur ni l'agrément, j'apprécie tou-jours aussi vivement le privilège qui m'échoit d'être appelé par mes fonctions de Doyen à vous présenter pour la cinquième fois les voeux du Corps Diplomatique accrédité au Senégal.

accrédité au Sénégal.

Ces voeux qui viennent du fond du coeur s'adressent à la personne de Votre Excellence, à la gracieuse Mime Senghor et à votre fils Philippe en particuler, au Gouvernement, aux autorités et au peuple sénégalais tout entier, dont mes collègues et moi-même apprécions tous les jours davantere les qualités humaines et le

apprécions tous les jours davantage les qualités humaines et le sens de l'hospitalité.

Pour votre pays, comme pour les nôtres, M. le Président, l'année qui s'achève n'aura pas été de tout repos. Le titre du recuell de Victor Hugo « Les rayons et les ombres » pourrait s'y appliquer. Du moins le Sénégal, sous votre direction à la fois si éclairée et si attentive, aura-t-il su finalement mieux que d'autres affronter franchement les problèmes et, par les vertus du dialogue dont vous avez le secret, les résoudre. résoudre.

gue dont vous avez le secret, les résoudre.

C'est qu'aussi bien vous êtes toujours présent, ouvert à toutes les suggestions, à l'écoute des voix du peuple que vous dirigez, quels qu'en soient les ethnies et les groupes socio-culturels; c'est que vous avez l'instinct de ce dont il a besoin, de ce qu'il faut lui dire et lui apporter, c'est qu'en vous, je le dis sans flatterie, le penseur, le poète, le Chef d'Etat et l'homme d'action, loin de se contrarier, s'épaulent et se renforcent? Il me suffira pour le prouver d'évoquer les grands moments de la vie sénégalaise en moments de la vie senegalaise en 1968. Ces grands moments ont tou-jours été marqués par vos mes-sages à la Nation et par les allocutions que vous prononcez chaque fois que vous estimez que l'évenement en vaut la pelne, qu'il s'agisse de la visite d'une person-nalité ou de l'inauguration d'une

usine. En 1968, bien sûr, c'est d'abord la campagne électorale qui vous en a donné l'occasion dans tout le pays. Les douze propositions pour les élections générales du 25 février ont été commentées et éclairées par Votre Excellence

dans les termes qui convenaient à la région et au public, Aussi bien, le moment venu et dans des bien, le moment venu et dans des élections libres, le peuple sénéga-lais vous a-t-il renouvelé massive-ment sa contiance pour realiser un socialisme démocratique, à la fois réaliste et généreux, pour lutter contre cette détérioration des termes de l'échange que vous dénoncez si vigoureusement et pour que se produise le « dé-collage » du Senégal.

Certes, il y a eu chez vous aussi les événements de mai, reflet des agitations qui se sont produites dans d'autres points du globe, mais en ces difficiles circonstances on a vu, une fois de plus, que vous saviez parler clair et agir fernmement. La révolte d'une misorité » d'appresse de la constance de et agir fermement. La révolte d'une minorité « d'enragés » a été rapidement brisée et vous avez tout de suite engagé avec les salariés et les syndicats un dialogue qui a aboutit aux accords du 12 juin, cont votre message du lendemain a lumineusement dégagé l'importance et la signification. L'amélioration de la condition des plus humbles allait de dition des plus humbles allait de pair avec les sacrifices demandés à d'autres plus favorisés. Simultanément, vous invitez les Sénéga-lais à un effort accru de produc-tivité et à l'épargne, génératrice d'investissements.

Le crise de l'Université ne vous La crise de l'Université ne vous a pas non plus pris au dépourvu. Dès le 13 septembre, votre Gouvernement passait avec les représentants étudiants des accords qui ont permis aux examens, dans toutes les disciplines, de se passer dans d'avacilantes conditions ser dans d'excellentes conditions que partiellement, puisqu'elle compte déjà plus de 1800 inscrits. Cependant les commissions chargées d'élaborer la réforme de

chargées d'élaborer la réforme de cette Université, pour qu'elle participe mieux au développement du pays, ont déjà commencé leurs travaux.

La France, étant depuis l'orlgine partie dans cette entreprise, sa compréhension et son concours vous étaient naturellement acquis. Je me félicite que mon Gouvernement ait pu à tout moment faciliter la tâche du vôtre, en maintenant, selon vos voeux, la valldité de plein droit pour les examens sanctionnant en 68-69 les examens sanctionnant en 68-69 les enseignements dispensés à l'Unienseignements dispenses a l'UniIl n'est pas douteux que l'amitie qui vous lie au Secrétairc d'Etat aux Affaires étrangères, M. Yvon Bourges — et dont la visite officielle au Sénégal en avril dernier a été un témoignage de plus—ait grandement contribué à ccs heureuses solutions.

neureuses solutions. Ces préoccupations ne vous fai-saient cependant pas oublier les impératifs économiques et ce dé-veloppement du Sénégal qui vous tient tent à cœur. Sans cesso pendant votre tournée d'avant les veloppement du Sénégal qui vous tient tunt à cœur. Sans cesso pendant votre tournée d'avant les élections, vous avez incité les paysans à utiliser des méthodes et des engins modernes, à diversifier les cultures. Le 16 mai, vous avez présidé à l'inauguration d'une usine d'engrais dont vous avez présidé à l'inauguration d'une usine d'engrais dont vous avez souligné le rôle bénéfique qu'elle était appelée à jouer pour l'agriculture. Le 7 novembre dernier, c'était à l'industrie de la pêche d'être à l'honneur et, en inaugurant le complexe thonier, vous avez dit tout ce que les ressources de la mer pouvalent apporter au Sénégal et vous avez insisté sur le rôle grandissant du port de Dakar. Il ya cinq jours enfin, c'était une laiterie moderne que vous inauguriez au cours de votre visite à la ville de Saint-Louis, qui vous a réservé un accueil triomphal. Mais si vous avez eu, Monsieur le Président, au cours de cette rude et longue année des problèmes et des préoccupations, vous avez connu aussi des satisfactions sans mélange. Je veux parler d'abord de l'excellent compotition, où les « grands » arrivaient avec des ressources humaines et techniques incomparables, deux de vos athlètes ont accédé aux finales; l'un d'eux. Mansour Dia, au triple saut, a fait longtemps figure d'outsider et le coureur de 400 mètres Gakou, s'est surpassé en prenant une excellente quatrième place dans un termes de valeux mon

et le coureur de 400 mètres Gakou, s'est surpassé en prenant
une excellente quatrième place
dans un temps de valeur mondiale: 45 secondes. Aucun du reste de vos représentants n'aura
démérité et vous les avez fustement honorés à leur retour.
Enfin, il y aura eu ce Prix de
la Paix des Libralres allemands
qui vous a été décerné et remis
le 22 septembre. à Francfort-surMain par le Président de la République fédérale allemande. M.

## La réponse du Président Léopold Sédar SENGHOR à S. E. Vyau De LAGARDE, doyen du Corps Diplomatique

Voici le texte intégral de la réponse de M. le Président de la République au doyen Jean Vyau de Lagarde, lors de la présentation des vœux du Corps diplomatique au Chef de l'Etat :

Monsieur le Doven.

Monsieur le Doyen,
Comme vous l'avez dit, c'est
la cinquième fois, qu'au nom du
Corps diplomatique, vous me pré
sentez les vœux de fin d'année.
C'est rare, jc le sais, qu'un di
plomate restc aussi longtemps au
même poste. Cela prouve, bien
sûr, que vous avez la confiance
de votre gouvernement. Cela
prouve aussi que vous avez su
maintenir l'amitié qui lle nos
deux nations depuis quelque trois
cents ans, cette amitié qui vient
de se confirmer, vous l'avez souligné, dans la crise universitaire.
Messieurs les Ambassadeurs,
Vous me permettrez de ne pas
être trop long, puisque je dirai,
ce soir, plus longuement, toat ce
que je voudrais vous dire, maintenant, en peu de mots.
Tout d'abord, comme vous le
devinez, l'ai déjà adressé mes
vœux aux Chefs d'Etat ou de
Gouvernement de vos pays res-

Je le dirai ce soir, mais vous le savez déjà, l'année 1968 aura été pour nous, aura été pour le monde en général, le Séngéal en particulier, une amée difficile, pleine de problèmes délicats, pleine de difficultés de toutes cortes : politiques économiques. sortes : politiques, économiques, financières, universitaires et so-

Cependant, tout n'aura pas été négatif. Car voici qu'en fin d'année, sur tous les fronts de la guerre chaude ou froide, voici que, partout, le dialogue s'amorce, la paix s'avance : au Viet Nam d'abord et sûrement, mais aussi au Moyen-Orient où les grandes puissances ont repris le dialogue entre elles, par la voic diplomatique si ce n'es: publiquement. Voici même, qu'au Nigéria, une faible lueur s'allume dans la nuit de la misère; de la faim, du sang inutilement versé. Cependant, tout n'aura pas été

Nous avons donc l'espoir que,

dans les années à venlr, la paix sera, étape par étape, méthodiquement organisée sur tous les continents, que le dialogue se poursuivra entre les nations, voire entre les peuples d'une même nation. C'est dans cet espoir que je vous prie d'agréer les vœux que je forme pour chacun de vous, pour chadune de vos familles, pour chadune de vos patries respectives.

Ces vœux sont d'autant plus sinceres que nous avons eu, avec vous, mes ministres et moi, au cours de l'anne 1968, les rapports cours de l'anné 1968, les rapports les plus compréhénsifs, les plus confiants, malgré les quelques difficultés qui ont pu survenir avec tel ou tel pays. Ce ne sont donc pas de simples vœux que je vous présente, mais encore des remerciements pour votre compréhension et votre coopération. Vous me permettrez, en terminant, par-delà les nations que vous représentez les uns et les autres, de penser à notre commune patrie, à notre commune commune patrie, à notre commune destin. Au moment où l'homme confirme, d'une manière éclatan-et, sa maîtrise progressive de l'espace, tout en admirant com-me vous, ces prouesses, je for-me le vœu qu' nos nations ré-conciliées dans le dialogue et la coopération, achèvent de cons-truire notre Terre.

#### GRAND BAL samedi 4 janvier A BARGNY

L'Association Culturelle « Tassagoro » de Bargny, organisc un grand bal avec la participation de l'orchestre Le « Psychedelie and Co » econnu sons le nom de « Super Maker's Group » avec le talentueux Blai à l'orgue. Un rendez-vous le samedi 4 janvier à partir le 21 heures au Foyer des Jeunes de Bargny. Un programme sensationnel vous attend, peur la première fois.

tend, pour la première fois. Nombreux concours dotes plusieurs prix.

By MNARA Date



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# Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 00057 031801Z.

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P. R. Ø31514Z JAN 69 FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA AMEMBASSY ALGIERS AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY OTTAWA US MISSION GENEVA 839 USUN 767 CINCSTRIKE DIA.

COUNTELL DENTIL A LILLAGOS 057

SUBUECT: OBSERVER TEAM! TRUCE BREACH

ACCORDING CANADIANS, OBSERVERS RETURNED FROM FRONT NEAR ABA, TODAY . THEY HAD BEEN INVITED TO INSPECT LARGE NUMBER OF PRISONERS OF WAR IN 3RD DIVISION AREA.

2. REPORT OF PRISONERS TURNED OUT TO BE PREMATURE. OB-SERVERS LEARNED THAT IN HOLIDAY SEASON THERE HAD BEEN SOME PRATERNIZING AND THAT THREE BIAFRANS HAD APPROACHED FEDERAL TROOPS UNDER WHITE FLAGOON DEC 24 WITH OFFER TO SURRENDER SEVERALIHUNDREDITROOPS: FEDS SENT BIAFRANS BACKI INI JEEPI ANDI HAPPILY AWAITED SURRENDER INSTEAD THEY WERE OVERRUN ANDI SEVERELY MAULEDI BY SURPRISE ATTACKI INI CONSIDERABLE STRENGTH

INLINTERVALIBETWEEN SURRENDER OFFER AND ATTACKS WORD OF IMMINENT SURRENDER HAD BEEN SENT TO ADEKUNLES WHO INFORMED LAGOS AND ASKED THAT OBSERVERS BE SENT FORTHWITH WELDO NOT YET KNOW HOW LONG INTERVAL! WAS

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By MINARA Date



# Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 00057 031801Z

4. INCIDENT DOES NO CREDIT TO EITHER SIDE - BIAFRANS FOR BREAKING SELF DECLARED HOLIDAY CEASEFIRE AND FEDS FOR BEING NAIVE OBSERVERS REPORTEDLY NOW SCRATCHING HEADS ABOUT PREPARING REPORT THAT WILLINOT MAKE ADEKUNLE LOOK FOOLISH SINCE THEY WILL BE IN HIS TERRITORY AGAIN GPS MATHEWS:

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By Myara Date VD 107



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P R 031000Z JAN 69
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 725
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL KADUNA

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SUBJECT: CRITICAL COMMENTS ON CURRENT NIGERIAN LEADERSHIP

RET : IBADAN 756 AND PREVIOUS

1. NUMBER PROMINENT YORUBAS HAVE COMMENTED ON CURRENT SITUATION WEST; LAGOS AND FEDERATION DURING COURSE NUMEROUS SOCIAL OCCASIONS LAST TWO DAYS. THESE INCLUDE DIRECTOR UNIFE INSTITUTE ADMINIS. TRATION EDEJI, UNIBADAN PROFESSOR BASSIR, UNIBADAN REGISTRAR ADAMOLEKUN, JUSTICE OF APPEAL ESO, HIGH COURT JUSTICE JOHNSON, FORMER WESTERN FINANCE MINISTER ODEBIYI, MANAGER TRANS. ARAB TRANSORT ALAKIJA AND PRESIDENT IBADAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AKINKUGBE (PROTECT ALL SOURCES). AKINKUGBE, ALAKIJA AND ADAMOLEKUN LEAN TOWARDS NNDP AND MOST REMAINDER SYMPATHETIC AG, THOUGH SOMEWHAT DISENCHANTED WITH AWO.

2. SEVERAL PERSONS (JOHNSON, ADAMOLEKUN AND ALAKIJA) REFERRED TO LETTER WRITTEN BY SIX UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS CONDEMNING US PROVIS-ION OF RELIEF PLANES (LAGOS 15688). WHILE ALL CRITICAL OF US ACYION, SOME ALSO SAID PROFESSORS USING PLANE ISSUE TO GET ACROSS FUNDAMENTAL CRITICISM OF GOVT. THEY REFERRED TO PART OF LETTER RULERS BEHAVING AS IF THEY WELCOME PROLONGATION OF WAR TO SUSTAIN. THEIR OWN POWER POSITION AND ANY PERSONAL FINANCIAL BENEFITS THEY ARMED FORCES CAN DO TO DISCIPLINE THEIR OWN MEMBERS, NO MATTER HOW

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DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

Intelligence Note

January 3, 1969

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To The Secretary

Through: s/s

INR - Thomas L. Hughes

Subject: The Commonwealth Conference and Africa

The Commonwealth Conference, which meets on January 7, will face, among other problems, three African issues: the Nigerian civil war, the stalemate on Southern Rhodesia, and external threats to Zambia's security.

Nigeria. The Nigerian civil war may displace Southern Rhodesia as the most emotional African issue at the conference. Although Biafra will almost certainly not seek admission to formal sessions, it will send an experienced, high-level delegation to present its case to the participants and the world press. The two Commonwealth states that recognize Biafran sovereignty--Tanzania and Zambia--have probably been lobbying on its behalf among both African and non-African members and may have found some sympathy for Biafra's cause among Caribbean governments. Tanzanian and Zambian spokesmen are expected to press for formal discussion of at least the humanitarian issues arising out of the Nigerian civil war, but they may change their minds when they have tested the atmosphere in London.

Both the UK and Federal Nigeria are determined to keep the civil war off the agenda. The Wilson government fears that any Commonwealth criticism of its pro-Federal policies will give powerful critics in Parliament ammunition with which to renew demands that it suspend arms sales to Nigeria. Lagos is bitterly opposed to any discussion of the civil war outside the Organization of African Unity, and the Government-owned press in Nigeria

This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Aside from normal substantice exchange with other agencies at the working level, at hos not been coordinated elsewhere. LIMDIS

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LEG 7 LUKENS/-OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE DELIVER FRIDAY A.M.
SUBJECT: Lloyd Garrison Interviews Congressman Lukens

1. NYTimes Jan 1 carries Garrison piece from Paris headed GOP legislator, in raid in Biafra, to brief Nixon. Rep Donald E. Lukens sat bundled in sweaters in hotel wracked with flu and still emotionally chilled from experience being bombed and strafed by Soviet-built planes in Biafra. Said he would report to Nixon soon after return. Would not say whether next administration contemplated radical changes in US policy supporting QTE one Nigeria UNQTE, but said war would get high priority on Nixon review foreign policy. Johnson administration while adopting neutral position in civil war has opposed Biafra's secession and pressed for negotiated settlement within context united Nigeria.

2. QTE While the bombing may have somewhat prejudiced my logic, I don't think I'm totally pro-Biafra. But I do think Biafra has moral right to be g heard before appropriate international bodies, including UN. And I think it's wrong to base a policy on colonial boundaries drawn decades ago by European powers to serve European interests.

3. When I got to Lagos I asked Elbert Mathews, our Ambassador, what our policy was. He said a INNERQTE quick kill END INNERQTE would be most humane way to end the war. Well, Lukens commented, if that's the policy we've got locked into then either I live in the wrong country or the policy is wrong. Who wants

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C. O. N. F. I D E N. T I A LI SECTION 1 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 0014

EXDIS:

FOLLOWING TEXT PREPARED BY AMBASSADOR BROMBEY AGREED REPORT CONVERSATION TODAY FONMIN: KETEMA AND MINSTATE FONOFF TESFAYE.

1. BEGIN GTE: MY US AND CANADIAN COLLEAGUES AND I
DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER ON THIS OCCASION NOT TO PRESS FOR AN AUDIENCE WITH: THE EMPEROR SINCE DISCUSSION OF VARIOUS ROUTES
WAS LIKELY TO BE A LITTLE COMPLICATED AND TO REQUIRE USE OF MAPS.
WE THEREFORE DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO SEE ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND TO PUT BEFORE HIM THE VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES
WHICH HAD OCCURRED TO OUR GOVTS FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE
EMPEROR OFFERING IF HIM WISHED TO DISCUSS THEM ALSO WITH HIM.

THE THREE OF US THEREFORE SAW FOREIGN MINISTER THIS MORNING: HE HAD WITH HIM MINISTER OF STATE, DR. TESFAYE, WHO IS THE PERSON PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH THE WHOLE NIGERIAN PROBLEM IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HERE.

ACTING AS SPOKESMAN FOR THE THREE OF US, I PUT BEFORE.
HIM FIRST OF ALL THE PLAN WORKED OUT BY THE THREE MISSIONS
IN LAGOS FOR RELIEF; SUPPLIES COMING EITHER: THROUGH ENUGU
SOUTHKARDS BY ROAD TO OKIGWI, OR COMING IN BY SEA FROM
CALABAR PORT BY ROAD TO IKOT OKOPORO AND THEN ACROSS THE
RIVER BY FERRY. I THEN WENT ON TO MENTION THE LOWENSTEIN
MOVEMENT THENCE; BY ROAD TO BIAFRAN-HELD TERRITORY. I MENTIONED
THAT MY OWN FOVT PREFERRED THIS PLAN, WHICH HAD THE ADVANTAGE.
OF APPARENT BIAFRAN SUPPORT (THOUGH THE POSSIBLE DANGERS:
MENTIONED IN PARA 2 OF LAGOS: TELEGRAM NO. 2368 CAME.

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By Mr. Ara Date 05 05

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EXDIS:

FOLLOWING TEXT PREPARED BY AMBASSADOR BROMBEY AGREED REPORT CONVERSATION TODAY FORMIN KETEMA AND MINSTATE FONOFFITESFAYE.

1. BEGIN QTE'S MY US AND CANADIAN COLLEAGUES AND I
DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER ON THIS OCCASION NOT TO PRESS FOR
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WHICH HAD OCCURRED TO OUR GOVTS FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE
EMPEROR OFFERING IF HIM WISHED TO DISCUSS THEM ALSO WITH HIM.

THE THREE OF US: THEREFORE SAW FOREIGN MINISTER THIS:
MORNING HE HAD! WITH HIM MINISTER OF STATE DR. TESFAYE WHO
IS: THE PERSON PRIMARILY CONCERNED! WITH THE WHOLE NIGERIAN
PROBLEM IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HERE.

ACTING AS SPOKESMAN FOR THE THREE OF US, I PUT BEFORE:
HIM FIRST OF ALLI THE PLAN WORKED OUT BY THE THREE MISSIONS
IN LAGOS FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES COMING EITHER: THROUGH ENUGU:
SOUTHWARDS BY ROAD TO OKIGWID OR COMING IN BY SEA FROM
CALABAR PORT BY ROAD TO IKOT OKOPORO AND THEN ACROSS THE
RIVER BY FERRY. I THEN WENT ON TO MENTION THE LOWENSTEIN
PLAN FOR AIR-LIFTED SUPPLIES BY DAYLIGHT TO OBLAGO WITH ONWARD
THAT MY OWN FOVT PREFERRED THIS PLAN, WHICH HAD THE ADVANTAGE
OF APPARENT BIAFRAN SUPPORT (THOUGHTHE POSSIBLE DANGERS:
MENTIONED IN PARA 2 OF LAGOS TELEGRAM NO. 2368 CAME

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 00014 01 OF 02 021153Z

UP SUBSEQUENTLY IN DISCUSSION).

THE FOREIGN MINISTER FELT THAT VIRTUALLY ALL THE POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF ROUTES: HAD BEEN PRETTY THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED IN ADDIS ABABA (NOTHER SUMMER WITH BOTH PARTIES TO THE NIGERIAN DISPUTE) AS REGARDS THE TRIPARTITE PROPOSALS FROM LAGOS. HE RECALLED THAT THE ENUGU ROAD ROUTE HAD BEEN SHOT DOWN IN THE SUMER BECAUSE AT THAT TIME: THE BIAFRANS: INSISTED ON THE SUMER BECAUSE AT THAT TIME: ROAD! DOWN FROM ENUGU TO OKIGWIO BUT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT THE SITUATION MIGHT HAVE CHANGED SINCE AND THE IDEA WAS CERTAINLY WORTH RECONSIDERING AS REGARD THE CALABAR ROUTE. BOTH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND DROTESTAYE WERE DOUBTFUL WHETHER IT COULD BE A STARTER BECAUSE OF THE NIGERIAN BLOCKADE. BUT OBVIOUS HIS THE FEDERAL NIGERIAN GOVT WERE WILLING TO RECONSIDER THIS POINT THE ROUTE MIGHT BE USED. IN THIS CONTEXT DROTESTAYE WAS ANXIOUS TO MAKE A FURTHER EFFORT TO SEE WHETHER THE IDEA OF POSSIBLE TRANS-RIVER CROSSINGS ON THE NIGER! (I.E. AT ASABA OR AT ABOH) MIGHT BE RESUSCITATED.

THE FOREIGN MINISTER SEEMED MOREI ATTRACTED

BY THE OBLIAGO PROPOSALS OF LOWENSTEIN'S WHICH HE THOUGHT

MIGHT BE A STARTER ALTHOUGH HE WAS DOUBTFUL HIMSELF.

WHETHER IT WOULD BE FEASIBLE SIMPLY TO OPERATE IT WITH A

CORRIDOR HAVING THE WIDTH ONLY OF THE ROAD ITSELF, AND

WITHOUT OBSERVERS. HE WAS INCLUDED TO THINK THAT IT

WOULD BE NECESSARY TO HAVE A NEUTRALIZED AREA ON EACH

SIDE OF THE TRACK AND TO HAVE THIS PARTOLLED BY A NEUTRAL

FORCE OF SOME KIND. DR. TESFAYE WAS MORE DOUBTFUL.

AND BELIEVED THAT OUKWU WOULD IN THE LAST RESORT FIND SOME

REASON FOR NOT ACCEPTING THE IDEA DESPITE HIS APPARENT

ACCEPTANCE OF IT IN PRINCIPLE. THERE WAS ALSO SOME

DISCUSSION WHETHER THE PROPOSAL WOULD REALLY BE ACCEPTABLE

TO THE FEDERAL NIGERIAN GOVT.

THE MINISTERS: WERE ABOUT TO SEE THE EMPEROR AND UNDERTOOK TO PUT FORWARD THE VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS WHICH WE HAD MADE ON BEHALF OF OUR GOVTS. WE GAVE THEM A COPY OF THE LAGOS PROPOSALS FOR USE WITH THE EMPEROR. I EMPHASIZED ON BEHALF OF ALL! THREE AMBASSADORS THAT THESE IDEAS WERE BEING PUT FORWARD SOLELY FOR THE EMPEROR HIMSELF TO USE IF HE SO DESIRED AND THAT OUR REPRESENTATIVES HAD NOT DISCUSSED THEM WITH EITHER SIED IN NIGERIA. HALL

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By Mr. Ara Date 4 5 65

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DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER CONTACT WITH THE TWO SIDES. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT TRIPARTITE NIGERIAN-BLAFRAN-ETHIOPLAN MEETING WAS IMPOSSIBLE BUT APART FROM THAT DID WELTHINK THAT A MESSAGE SHOULD BE SENT WITH A FURTHER APPEAL FOR AGREEMENT ON RELIEF ROUTES OR SHOULD AN EMISSARY BE SENT? WE ALL RECOMMENDED THE LATTER. THERE WAS THEN CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION ABOUT WHERE AN EMISSARY COULD SEPARATELY MEET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO PARTIES IN NIGERIA THE FOREIGN MINISTER THOUGHT LIBREVILLE AND ABIDUAN IMPOSSIBLE AND NIAMEY JUST POSSIBLE LONDON WAS RAISEDUSINCE! THERE! WERE! SOMETIMES! BIAFRAN EMISSARIES THERE. I SAID THAT I THOUGHT THAT THE MEETING CLACE OUGHT IF POSSIBLE TO BE AN AFRICAN ONE AND THAT IN LONDON THERE WOULD BE THE COMPLICATION OF INTENSE PUBLICITY. LONDON MIGHT NOT NOW BELACCEPITABLE TO THE BLAFRANS FOR SUCH A MEETING. DR. TESFAYE! SUGGESTED GENEVA AND THIS THEY APPEARED TO THINK POSSIBLE. MY CANADIANI COLLEAGUEI WONDERED WHETHER AND OGA OU. EMISSARY COULD GO! TO LAGOS WHILE PERHAPS MR. ARNOLD SMITH WHO IS PERSONA GRATA TO BOTH SIDES. MIGHT GOLTO BIAFRA AND COME BACK! TO INFORM THE O A . U'. EMISSARY OF THE BIAFRAN ATTITUDE THERE WAS A LACK OF KEENNESS ON THE ETHIOPIAN SIDE ABOUT THIS IT WAS PRETTY CLEAR THAT THEY DESTRED! TO KEEP! THE MATTER! IN ETHIOPIAN HANDS! AND ALTHOUGH THEY PAID LUPI SERVICE TO THE NECESSITY FOR THE EMPEROR TO CONSULT WITH HIS COLLEAGUES ON THE ON A . U. CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE IT APPEARED TO US THAT THEY WOULD BE QUITE PREPARED FOR THE

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By MINARA Date



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PAGE | 02 | ADDIS | 00014 | 02 OF | 02 | 022120Z

EMPEROR TO GOLIT ALONE IN SENDING SOMEONE AS AN EMISSARY IN THE END. THEY SEEMED RATHER TO FAVOR THE IDEA THAT AN EMISSARY MIGHT GO TO LAGOS AND PERHAPS LATER TRY TO GOLON FOR A CONTACT WITH THE BIAFRANS.

IN CONCLUSION, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID ONCE MORE THAT HE WOULD PUT THE VARIOUS PLANS AND CONSIDERATIONS TO THE EMPEROR STRAIGHTAWAY AND THAT HE WOULD LET US KNOW THE UPSHOT. IN ANY CASE THE EMPEROR WOULD TO SOMETHING!

YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 2: ARRIVED JUST AFTER OUR INTERVIEW.
I WILLLET YOU KNOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WHAT THE EMPEROR
DECIDES.

MY US AND CANADIAN COLLEAGUES CONCUR! IN THIS TELEGRAM MY CANADIAN COLLEAGUES ASKS THAT THIS MESSAGE BE PASSED TO EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND COLLEAGUES IN LAGOS GENEVA AND WASHINGTON.

MY US COLLEAGUE! ASKS! THAT THIS BE! PASSED! TO: LAGOS.
OTTAWA: AND GENEVA: TO: HIS: COLLEAGUES: THERE. END! QTE.

2% CANADIAN AMBASSADOR GAUVIN ALSO MADE POINTS CONTAINED OTTAWA'S 2872 KETEMA AND TESFAYED DED NOT RESPOND.

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## Department of State TELEGRAM

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DEPT REPEAT AS DESTRED

SUBUI FRANCE ANDI BIAFRA

1. BASED ON RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH QUAL AFRICAN DIRECTOR LEBELL AND NIGERIAN DESKLOFFICER PIERRET PLUS OTHER REPORTS (E.G. PARIS 25735 AND LONDON 15978) WE HAVE COME UP WITH TENTATIVE ASSESSMENT PRESENT FRENCH THINKING ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA:

2. SINCE OUR 25157, FRENCH HAVE APPARENTLY BECOME LESS CONCERNED OVER FUNDING EARLY SOLUTION TO CONFLICT AND MORE RECONCILED.
TO ITS LASTING FOR MANY MONTHS TO COME. THIS SEEMS DUE TO COMBINATION
OF FACTORS. INCLUDING A PRESENT UNWILLINGSS EITHER BIAFRA OR FING
MAKE COMPROMISES NECESSARY FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. B) BELIEF THAT
BIAFRA NOW BETTER ABLE WITHSTAND MILITARY AND STARVATION DISEASE.
PRESSURES THAN PREVIOUSLY BELIEVED C) RELUCTANCE FRENCH LEADERS
SHIFT POSITION IN LIGHT PRESS IMPLICATIONS (E.G. FINANCIAL TIMES) THAT
FRANCE RESPONDING TO UK URGINGS: AND D) BELIEF THAT SUPPORT FOR
BIAFRA ON UPSWING IN EUROPE. AFRICA AND UNITED STATES AND MAY
PRODUCE SHIFT IN POSITIONS SOME GOVTS.

3. AT LUNCH WITH CONGRESSMAN LUKENS AND EMBOFF DEC. 30 LEBEL AND EMBORET SATOL THAT EARLIER REPORTS OF MAGNITUDE IMPENDING BIAFRA STARVATION PROBLEM MUCH EXAGGERATED. ALTHOUGH ADMITTING THAT BROBLEM IS SERIOUS AND THEIR INFORMATION FROM FRENCH DOCTORS IN BIAFRA NOT PRECISE IN TERMS PROBABLE STARVATION RATE. LEBEL AND LUKENS AGREED THAT NEITHER GOWON NOR OUNKWU SEEMED WILLINGTOR POSSIBLY ABLE!

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PAGE 02 PARIS 00024 021702Z

CONCEDE AT THIS TIME ON CRUCIAL QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY ALTHOUGH LEBELL THOUGHT BIAFRA MIGHT IN TIME COME TO ACCEPT SOME SORT OF CONFEDERAL SOLUTION PIERRET TOLD EMBOFF EARLIER AND LEBEL CONFIRMED DEC 30 THAT QUAL NOW CREDITS BIAFRA WITH ENOUGH MILITARY STRENGTH MAKE VICTORY FOR EITHER SIDE IMPOSSIBLE IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

4. WHILE FRENCH SEEM VIEW SITUATION AS LESS URGENT THAN BEFORE, THEY ARE APPARENTLY CONTINUING QUIET SEARCH FOR SOME POSSIBLE STEPS TOWARD PEACEFUL SOLUTION AND/OR RESOLUTION OF RELIEF PROBLEM. SOME FORM OF SELF DETERMINATION REMAINS PRECONDITION FOR FINAL SOLUTION BUT THEY ARE STUDYING INTERIM MEASURES AS WELL.

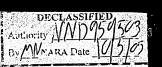
5. LEBEL! REPEATED WHAT WE! HAVE HEARD! OF TEN: AT QUAL NAMELY THAT THERE: IS: NOT HOPE; OBTAINING ANYTHING THROUGH OAU WHICH IRRETRIEVABLY COMPROMISED IN EYES: OUUKWU (COMMENT: FRENCH DON'T LIKE IT EITHER).

6. LEBEL! THEN: VOLUNTEERED! WHAT HE! DESCRIBED: AS PURELY
"PERSONAL!" IDEA, FOR: INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN: TWO PARTIES. THIS WAS:
NEW GROUPING: OF! FOUR! STATES! IVORY COAST, NIGER, TANZANIA AND
KENNA! HE RAISED WITH BRITISH HERE! DEC. 20: (LONDON: 15978: PARA 5).
HE! SAID: THAT EMPEROR! HAILE! SELASSAIE! MIGHT ALSO: BE! ADDED! IN
HIS: PERSONAL! CAPACITY: THUS: PROVIDING! LINK! WITH OAU. IF! THIS
WERE! PRICE! FOR FMG ACCEPTANCE! HOWEVER: THIS: MIGHT SERIOUSLY
JEOPARDIZE POSSIBLEITY ACCEPTANCE! BY OUUKWU! FIRST EFFORT OF
SUCH: GROUP SHOULD: ACCORDING! TO: LEBEL! BE! DIRECTED! AT RELIEF!
QUESTIONS: WITH! POSSIBLE! ROLE! FOR! THEM IN! POLICING! LAND! AND! OR
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AGR CO	10	
		FROM : American Embassy - Lagos DATE: January 2, 1969
INT	TAR	SUBJECT: Anti-Imperialist March Flops in Lagos
TR XMI	AIR	AFLOCIT) REF Lagos 15712 December 31, 1968
ARMY CIA	NAVY	
3 2.		As reported in reftel, Eskor Toyo's "Massive Protest March Against
34 10		Imperialist Intervention in the Nigerian War" was practically a non-starter.  A crowd of from 75 to 100 marchers, augmented by perhaps 100 children,
ns	9	and carrying crudely prepared, generally unimaginatively captioned placards.
		"Give the People Arms"; "Pope, Get out of Civil War"; "Down with French Intrigue" briefly visited the US, UK, French and West German Embassies,
		and a local office of the Catholic Church. Most of the demonstrators and their signs were transported from place to place in four rented trucks;
10		they dismounted to "march" only in the vicinity of their objectives.
25		About midway the tour, several hundred demonstrators, children, onlookers, police, and soldiers gathered at Tafawa Balewa Square fronting the
Phi 4	D. C.	American Embassy to listen to a brief harangue before taking off for the French and West German Embassies on Victoria Island. Police and soldiers,
JAN 3 Phi		who outnumbered the demonstrators, were out in force and in full anti-riot
ν Σ		regalia hard hats, leather shields, police dogs, etc. They were not needed.
	3	At the U.S. Embassy, the duty officer met the demonstration leader near
999		the back door on the Embassy grounds, listened to a short statement.
		but declined to accept a small white symbolic coffin.
		Local newspapers the following/carried exaggerated reports of the incident. Front page stories Enclosures 1 (a), (b), (c), and (d) estimated
		the number of marchers at 1,000 (Times, Pilot): 5.000 (Post): and 10,000
		(MidWest Observer). The march was credited to the Nigerian Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization NAASO, and to the Nigerian Youth Solidarity
		Council NYSC. Eskor Tyo is General Secretary of both organizations.
		Also reported in the demonstration were Olumbe Basir of the University
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Drafted by:		4-02 DS-323 () 1 Out
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By Mr. ARA Date 05505

of Ibadan, Chairman of the two organizations; Dr. Mayirue Kolagbode, East German-trained leftist; Aka Bashorun; Kunle Maja, Armstrong Ogbonna, and other non-NTUC/SWAFF leftists.

From available evidence, Toyo had been working on his demonstration for some time. He called a planning session for the demonstration for December 17 -- Enclosure 2 (a). This appears to have fallen through, since a letter dated December 18, on NAASO stationery -- Enclosure 2 (b) -- "reconvenes" the meeting for December 23. Turnout for this meeting was apparently also unsatisfactory, and Toyo then resorted to a Press Conference at the Mainland Hotel, set for December 26 (Enclosure 2 (c).) As these Conferences usually feature free food and drink, and a "dash" of from three to five guineas each for reporters who show up, the Mainland affair was more successful. Toyo's "Address to the Press" (Enclosure 2 (d) portions of which were carried in the following day's newspapers, called for "massive positive action" against the US, UK, French and West German Embassies, and the Catholic Secretariat, topped off by a march on Dodan Barracks. Comment: Total cost of the Demonstration, Press Conference and incidentals is estimated at something over two hundred pounds:

#### Press Conference

Hire of Conference Room at			ь 15/0/-
"Dash" to 6 or 7 reporters	and TV men @ 3	gns/reporter	21/-/-
Drinks, sandwiches		and the second second	20/-/-

#### Demonstration

Rental of 4 trucks @ £ 7/truck	28/-/-
"Dash" to various groups carrying placards (including	
bonus for Saturday afternoon work)	60/-/-
Preparation of placards, posters (sample attached	
	75/-/-

It is practically certain that these expenses were not met by the membership of the organizations concerned, since from the number of demonstrators it appears questionable whether they had any membership whatever. Outside, doubtless foreign financing was therefore involved. The Soviets are always a possibility; two Soviet cars were observed following the crowd. However, since the Toyo/Kolagbode wing of the NAASO is known to be at odds with the Otegbeye (NTUC/SWAFP) wing, and since the usual NTUC/SWAFP crowd was conspicuously absent — some NTUC sources ridiculed the "pitiful turnout" (reftel) — the Russians would have to be playing a deep game indeed, if they were financing this exercise.

It appears more likely that financial support of some kind was received from Chinese communist sources. Toyo has often in the past been identified with these interests. Moreover, as one newspaper noted -- Enclosure No. 1 (d) -- "(Toyo) ...accused the Western Powers of interfering in the Nigerian

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P 011200Z JAN 69 FM AMCONSUL KADUNA TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1029 INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY AMCONSUL 1BADAN

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SUBJECT: NIGERIAN BISHOPS CALLED TO VATICAN

1. FATHER BURKE, SECRETARY TO ARCHBISHOP MAC CARTHY OF KAOUNA (PROTECT SOURCE), TOLO ME LAST NIGHT POPE PAUL HAS CALLEO NIGERIAN BISHOPS, INCLUDING IND BISHOPS TO CONFERENCE IN VATICAN. FATHER BURKE SAIO COMMUNICATION FROM VATICAN WAS HIGHLY CLASSIFIED BUT LEAK OCCURRED NEVERTHELESS AND REACHED EARS OF COLONEL MARTIN ADAMU, COMMANDER ONE OIVISION REAR, KADUNA, WHO IS LEADING SPOKESMAN FOR NORTHERN CATHOLIC LAITY. COLONEL MARTIN INSISTED THAT PUBLIC STATEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE EXPLAINING THE DEPARTURE OF THE BISHOPS IN ORDER TO AVOID WAVE OF ADVERSE PUBLIC SPECULATION ABOUT ACTIVITIES CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN NIGERIA. RELEASE, TEXT OF WHICH FR. BURKE DID NOT DISCLOSE, IS EXPECTED TO BE MADE PUBLIC MONDAY.

2. FATHER BURKE SAID COLONEL ADAMU AND OTHER LEADING CATHOLICS IN NORTH WERE VERY UNHAPPY WITH NIGERIAN BISHOPS. STATEMENT OF LATE LAST YEAR IN RESPONSE TO PUBLIC CRITICISM OF POPE AND CARITAS AND INSINUATIONS THAT NIGERIAN CLERGY CONNIVING IN FAVOR BIAFRA. RATHER THAN DWELLING ON REPLY TO: CHARGES, STATEMENT CALLED ON CATHOLIC LAITY TO RISE TO DEFENSE OF CHURCH

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Authority WN 9595

By Mr. ARA Date 05



POW 27 BIAFRA - NIGERI

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AMEMBASSY LAGOS: AMEMBASSY LONDON

SECRET PARIS 397

LIMDIS

SUBJ & FRENCH SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA

REF + A) BONN 345 + B) STATE 293150 (NOTAL) + C) PARIS 22078 (NOTAL)

I WE ARE SOMEWHAT SURPRISED! THAT IDEA SHOULD SURFACE IN BONN OF JOINT US-UK DEMARCHE DESIGNED BRING PRESSURE ON FRANCE SHIFT ITS POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE (AS INDICATED REFIB!) THAT WE SHOULD NOT JOIN UK IN PRESSING FRENCH ON BIAFRA MATTER (OTHER THAN HUMAN. ITARIAN ASPECTS) AND ASSUME THAT DEPT CONCURS (REF.C.).

2. JOINT APPROACH: TO GERMANS WOULD, IN OUR VIEW, PRODUCE: NO POSITIVE RESULTS, EVEN IF GERMANS SHOULD AGREE RAISE MATTER WITH FRANCE. FRENCH POLICY ON BIAFRA MOST UNLIKELY BE SWAYED BY GERMAN DEMARCHE, ANYMORE THAN IT HAS BEEN BY GERMAN ARGUMENTS FOR UK ENTRY INTO COMMON MARKET. NEITHER WE NOR BRITISH EMBASSY HERE HAVE ANY INDICATION THAT FRENCH POSITION ON BIAFRA ABOUT TO UNDERGO MAJOR CHANGE. BRITISH WILL HAVE OPP. ORTUNITY EXPLORE BIAFRA QUESTION WITH FRENCH MORE FULLY WHEN THEIR TALKS ON AFRICA HELD IN LONDON LATE THIS MONTH. GP-2.

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